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West Europe Report

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4 April 1984

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SORSUNNATA PEACE GROUP ANNOUNCES NATIONAL MEETING IN SUMMER

Godthaab GRONLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 8 Feb 84 p 23

[Article: "'Sorsunnata' National Meeting This Summer"]

[Text] "We can no longer conduct the Peace Issue from a desk," says peace group representative.

The Greenlandic peace movement is now getting more solid organizing structure. This is happening in order to strengthen the movement's possibilities to accentuate disarmament and peace viewpoints across the Greenlandic population.

"In the long run we cannot conduct the peace efforts from a desk and we must establish a series of local departments to make headway and that is the organizing task we now give priority," says Baltser Andersen of Sorsunnata.

In order to strengthen the organization and bring the peace effort viewpoints to a broader awareness, Sorsunnata will hold a national meeting in the summer of 1984.

The plan is also that the various contact persons and local groups will send representatives to a joint meeting of all peace groups in Greenland. It was therefore decided at a Sorsunnata membership meeting in Qasigiannnguit that the first national meeting should take place Monday 23 July and Tuesday 24 July in Qasigiannnguit.

"We find it reasonable to hold the national meeting here because the movement originated here and because the entire current executive committee is located here. But is also enters into the picture that there are plans to hold the annual Aasivik-conference in the vicinity of Aasigiannnguit in the middle of July," says Baltser Andersen. He thinks that a number of participants in the Aasivik-conference might be interested in participating in Sorsunnata's first national meeting in order to give the peace movement a broad and solid base to work on. It is for practical reasons that Sorsunnata has picked the date for the national meeting immediately after the Aasivik-conference.

Sorsunnata discloses futher that contributions are welcome. Their postal checking account address is:

Sorsunnata, Blok G 35,
3951 Qasigiannnguit,
Account no 2 37 80 00

LEADING PAPER COMMENTS ON GOODBY'S REPLY TO KOMISSAROV

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 7 Mar 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Goodby Versus Komissarov"]

[Text] From the viewpoint of Finland and all other neutral countries it is to some degree a relief to hear that the United States would respect the territorial inviolability of such countries "in connection with any conflict whatsoever."

Ambassador James E. Goodby, who heads the United States delegation to the CSCE in Stockholm, expressed the matter this unambiguously while evaluating the Euromissile discussion in Finland.

Because Goodby is, besides an arms-control expert and high U.S. State Department official, his country's former ambassador to Finland, it is clear that his statement is a direct reply to the opinions presented at the beginning of the year under the Soviet pseudonym Yuriy Komissarov.

According to Komissarov it is utterly naive to assume that the Western military alliance NATO would have devised for its cruise missiles any special trajectories which would avoid the neutral countries. On the contrary--Komissarov has to be interpreted this way--in the event of war the Western as well as the Eastern military alliances will operate where their military leaders consider it important, without regard for the boundaries of nations.

So now a high United States official has claimed otherwise. Fine.

The statement issued by Goodby also contains some interesting reflections on the nature of the current Euroarmament in general and the discussion in Finland in particular.

Ambassador Goodby strives with special vigor to sink the general concept of so-called first-strike weapons. Quite correctly he points out that no nuclear weapon as such can be a first-strike weapon; it is rather a question of a really large quantity of destructive weapons which altogether form a first-strike force. And in Goodby's opinion no one even has such a force. Saying it in this way, Goodby introduces a welcome viewpoint into a discussion often plagued in Finland with amoral demands and claims.

Goodby's pertinently valid criticism concerning first-strike nuclear weapons suffers, however, from the fact that his own government in its public standpoints sees the Soviet Union arming itself with first-strike weapons. It is no wonder then that in the discussion under way in Finland people keep tripping up, when not even the governments of the superpowers are especially accurate in their pronouncements.

If one is so inclined, one can also regard the statements as unorthodox American thinking on the question of the nature of nuclear-weapon exchange. Goodby, namely, does not grant any justification to the high-level American points of view according to which a limited nuclear war would be possible. On the contrary, the concept of the relative inapplicability of nuclear weapons is the dominant theme which runs through his statement from beginning to end. And according to Goodby it also applies to the Euroweapons of the West.

12327

CSO: 3617/115

GENSCHER TO 'BREAK ICE' BETWEEN TURKEY, EC

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 7 Mar 84 p 12

[Article by Angela Nacken: "Genscher as Ice Breaker in Ankara--The FRG Government Trusts the New Turkish Government's Will to Democracy"]

[Text] The FRG government wants democratic Turkey to occupy without reservation the place it deserves in Europe. It expects the Turkish government to make its contribution to it. That affirmation concluded, in February this year, the second FRG government report on the development in Turkey to the Bundestag. Also the visit by FRG Foreign Minister Genscher, who arrived in Ankara last Tuesday, 3 weeks before the Turkish communal elections, for political talks is meant to be a sign of confidence in the will for democracy by the new first civilian government in Ankara and demonstrate "outstretched hand policy" toward the NATO partner and EC associate. Bonn even attributes an "ice breaking function" to that visit. One promises oneself of the German attitude toward Turkey a clear signal to the outside received also in the EC parliamentary assembly and in the European Parliament. The FRG government frankly admits its self-imposed role as Turkey's agent in the Western alliance.

The guiding consideration is that growing importance is attached to that country in recent years as a factor of stability on the southeast flank of NATO in view of developments in the Near and Middle East. Bonn explained its right to take a position on the situation and development in Turkey by their shared membership in the alliance and in EC. However, FRG - Turkish relations received their specific weight mainly from the fact that 1.6 million Turkish citizens are living in FRG territory, and are the largest of all groups of aliens. Settling the issue of free movement within the framework of the associative relationship between EC and Turkey is possible only through close cooperation with the Ankara government. Difficulties resulting from that the association treaty till 1 December 1986 also allows free movement for Turkish workers had already been a central subject in the talks between Bonn and Ankara in 1982. The same ought to be true of the 1984 talks between Genscher and the Turkish Foreign Minister Halefoglu.

The foreign ministers' meeting is that of old acquaintances. Halefoglu was Turkish Ambassador to Bonn for 10 years. Last January, Genscher called the new Turkish foreign minister's attention, in a talk at the Stockholm conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe, to the Bundestag's continued

expectation of democratic conditions in Turkey, a full respect for human rights and for legal international principles in the administration of justice. Even before the foreign minister left Bonn, the announcement was made that while advances were observed in the return to democracy, in the German view, about human rights and the abiding by international law principles "a lot still had to be done," as it was put diplomatically. Bonn keeps admonishing Ankara, on account of opposition criticism in our own country, but also because of the mood in the alliance capitals. Reminding Ankara of its promise to return to democracy is linked with the reminder of the Turkish government's promise to avoid detrimental effects from the free movement provisions. Genscher will have to be carefully weighing the German interest in accommodating the free movement provisions to economic conditions in the FRG and getting Ankara to understand that, against the Bundestag expectations urging advances in the democratization process.

Genscher is not taking empty luggage to Ankara. He takes with him the FRG government's decision to continue economic and military aid to Turkey. As budgetary possibilities allow, the FRG government thinks of magnitudes like those for 1983: economic aid at a clip of DM 130 million and NATO defense aid running for 18 months, at the same volume as before of DM 130 million. Economic relations between the two countries, in the German view, have entered a new phase.

German corporations are clearly becoming more interested in cooperation with Turkey. Import-export expanded remarkably in the last 2 years. The 1982 trade volume came to \$ 1.7 billion. The FRG government's report on Turkey made the point that the development policy cooperation served projects in the interest of the Turkish population and the defense aid was a concrete expression of German solidarity and willingness to share the burdens of the alliance. The objective of the FRG government's Turkey policy remains, as defined in the first Turkey report of December 1982, the guarantee of basic and freedom rights and the protection of human rights in Turkey, the recovery of democracy, and the preservation of the country's economic and social stability.

5885

CSO: 3620/179

FINANCIAL STRENGTH, CIRCULATION OF NORDIC CP PAPERS COMPARED

Helsinki KANSAN UUTISET in Finnish 2 Mar 84 p 23

[Article by Ari Setala: "Finnish Leftwing Press Strong"]

[Text] The Finnish leftwing has a strong People's Democratic press as a tool and a means of disseminating information. This is the way it seems if a study is made of the leftwing press in the Nordic countries. In the other Nordic countries the leftwing press operates primarily on a weekly basis. The Oulu newspaper KANSAN TAHTO has its namesakes in Sweden and Iceland and Helsinki's NY TID has a namesake in Oslo.

NY DAG's and NORRSKEN's Sweden

The Swedish Left Communist Party publishes a weekly paper by the name of NY DAG (New Day). Compared to the number of voters in the party the paper's circulation is small.

In elections the VPK [Left Communist Party] receives more than 300,000 votes, but in recent years the paper's circulation has remained between 11,000--17,000. At the end of the 1970's the party gave serious consideration to changing the 2-day NY DAG into a 5-day paper, but in the final count economics dictated a different decision.

Changing NY DAG into a weekly paper meant a considerable change in its format. The front page began to carry impressive color pictures and the back pages were devoted to presentations by young photographers and artists. But the development and stabilization of the paper's content is an issue which always concerns the party and the paper. The editorial staff, which numbers more than 10, sometimes groans over the fact that the paper's readership is so diverse. It has so many desires and views.

The VPK's other newspaper is FOLKVILJAN (People's Will), which appears in Northern Sweden and which was started from nothing about 3 years ago. FOLKVILJAN appears weekly with a circulation of approximately 3,500 copies and has succeeded quite well in taking its share of the market in its area of circulation.

The traditional NORRSKENFLAMMA (Northern Lights) has been under the control of the Communist Workers' Party faction since 1977. In spite of its small circulation of 4,000 copies NORRSKENFLAMMA has been able to continue as a 5-day paper.

The newspaper uses the latest technology and is published quite professionally. Without NORRSKENFLAMMA Sweden's press would be much less colorful. NORRSKENFLAMMA is now losing some of its talent to its fraternal paper TIEDONANTAJA. After a long stretch at NORRSKENFLAMMA two of its editors are moving from its editorial office in Luulaja to Helsinki.

The small Finnish-language papers UUSI PAIVA and SIIRTOTYOLAINEN, which appear 5--6 times a year and whose combined circulation is probably under 1,000, also live their own lives as Communist publications in Sweden.

Denmark's LAND OG FOLK

The DKP, Denmark's small Communist Party, publishes the well executed and lively paper LAND OG FOLK [Land and People], which has a circulation of approximately 10,000. The paper is published five times a week and is highly valued among trade union organizations at job sites. The paper's value is further confirmed by the fact that interviews with Denmark's leading politicians are published in it.

The situation in the Socialist People's Party is confusing. Even though it received nearly 400,000 votes in the last elections, it does not even have its own newspaper. The SOSIALISTISK DAGBLAD (Socialist Daily) appeared five times a week until May 1982, but the party was compelled to suspend its publication. The Danish Socialists have now formed a work group to deliberate the formation of a new publication, but nothing has happened yet. An independent leftwing paper INFORMATION, which is owned by the paper's editors, plays a role in Denmark's unique situation. The pages devoted to culture in INFORMATION, which appears six times a week, are highly praised.

Norway's FRIHETEN and NY TID

Norway's fragile Communist Party publishes the FRIHETEN (Freedom) paper, which appears twice a week and has a circulation of only a few thousand. The other leftwing paper NY TID in Oslo is published out of an office only one block away from FRIHETEN. NY TID is a weekly paper and it is published by the Norwegian Socialist Party, Sosialistisk Venstre Parti. Oslo's NY TID has a circulation greater than its Helsinki namesake or 15,000-16,000.

Iceland's THJODVILJINN

The citizens of Iceland read more than anywhere else in the world. They have six daily papers and THJODVILJINN (People's Will) published by the leftwing People's Alliance is also one of Iceland's larger newspapers. THJODVILJINN has a circulation of 10,000-11,000, which is a lot if one remembers that the total population of Iceland is only 240,000. In Iceland newspapers appear six times a week.

SCHLUTER GETS BUDGET WITHOUT SDP VOTES

Government Strengthened in Folketing

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 5 Feb 84 p 12

[Editorial: "Necessary Settlement"]

[Text] When parliament (at long last) begins its work after the election, the parliamentary situation will be quite different than the situation after the parliamentary elections in 1981. The difference is so great that it may be of decisive significance in the political trends of the next few years.

After the 1981 elections, the Social Democratic government returned in a weakened condition. It faced an opposition that had been strengthened. It was an opposition that represented an alternative capable of forming a government. After the 1984 elections, the government is returning in a strengthened condition. In parliament it is facing an opposition that has been weakened by the elections. It is an opposition that represents no real alternative to the government. This significant difference is of no small importance--to both the government parties and the Social Democrats.

It means to the government parties that they must maintain their political line and their concrete programs and that they must continue to show by their actions that they hold a liberal view of society. This should be expressed in the opening debate so that there is no room for doubt. It has been part of the government's strength that it has expressed itself clearly. This must continue.

For the Social Democrats it means that they must accept what they previously have been unwilling to realize. They had to give up governmental power because they failed to realize that it was impossible for them to conduct socialistic policies. Now they must admit that they can have no influence if they insist on believing that such policies can provide an alternative that can return them to power. The massive labor party must use cooperation to find a way to share responsibility and, thus, achieve a position that some day can return them to power.

There is one condition the Social Democrats must fulfil if they are to achieve that goal. The party must regain its credibility if it is to recapture the influence it exercised in former years. It seems unavoidable that the Social

Democrats must go through a process that could be characterized as a settlement. Other parties have done this and now the Social Democrats must do it, however reluctant they may be. This is a political debate, but it is primarily a question of leadership and style. It can be stated quite simply: must party loyalty be so great that it becomes impossible to evaluate the behavior and actions of the party leadership and to draw the necessary conclusions from this evaluation? The party membership will be hard pressed to accept Anker Jorgensen's assertion that the party apparatus has discussed and taken care of the complaints raised in DANSK METAL.

If the Social Democrats continue to undermine their own cause, it will result in further damage to the party. This will be unfortunate for the Social Democrats and for others, as well.

Economic, Security Debate Ahead

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 24 Feb 84 p 1

[Article by Lisbeth Knudsen]

[Text] Now that the 1984 budget has been approved, the stage is set for major political clashes between the government and the Social Democrats on both economic and security policy this spring.

The Social Democrats are threatening to create new problems for the government in the coming months--both on domestic and foreign policy matters--now that negotiations over the budget and the youth employment bill have broken down.

Many spokesmen in parliament now believe it is probable that additional economic measures will be required before summer. In the foreign policy arena, parliament will begin a debate on 15 March over nuclear weapons and Denmark's reinforcement agreements with NATO.

Yesterday the government finally pushed its 1984 budget through parliament, exclusively with the help of its fragile majority which includes the Radical Liberals, two Faroe Islanders, and one member of parliament from Greenland. During the budget debate, Prime Minister Poul Schluter was given no guarantee that the fragile majority would hold in all domestic matters, even on issues the government sees as vital. On foreign policy matters, the government may constantly be in the minority.

During the debate, Social Democratic political spokesman Svend Auken said that the government had "poisoned the atmosphere in parliament by its go-it-alone position, which could cast a shadow over every major domestic and foreign policy issue." "What will the government's negative position mean on foreign policy issues," Auken asked and added, "What will it mean when something must be done about the dangerous consequences of the government's economic policies and its effort to increase private consumption?"

Prime Minister Poul Schluter was angered by these statements and asked if the Social Democrats had made their foreign and security policy contingent on a compromise on economic policy.

"How many hundreds of millions of kroner will it cost to make the Social Democrats return to the broad majority that supports Denmark's foreign and security policy?" asked Prime Minister Poul Schluter. He added that the Social Democrats wanted to avenge their lack of influence by taking it out on our foreign policy.

"It will not cost a single krone. The prime minister must simply realize that he cannot act as a dictator from his seat in parliament," Auken said.

Paper on Jorgensen's Tactics

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 24 Feb 84 p 12

[Editorial: "At Long Last"]

[Text] It is said that Knud Heinesen, who is a calm man, nearly lost his head when he was told in New York that his party had decided to vote against the budget. It must seem both surprising and foolish to the former finance minister that the Social Democrats chose not to approve the law that will serve as the foundation for the functioning of our country. If it is correct that he was extremely angry, it is simply because he had been assured before his journey across the Atlantic that his fellow party members would vote in favor of the budget. But Anker Jorgensen suddenly decided to vote against the budget. This decision was made so suddenly by the party chairman that Heinesen was not the only one who was informed of the decision by the news media.

Yesterday, at long last after an election and a series of negotiations, parliament finally approved the budget. Once again the Social Democrats failed to follow their more reasonable leaders, but decided instead to close their ranks around Anker Jorgensen and abstain from voting. The party chairman had given in a little--but not enough. It must be considered odd that the Social Democrats, who always like to be seen as a responsible party, have refused to share responsibility for the budget, which is the foundation of our society. This entire episode will become a footnote in history that will serve as an example of parliamentary recklessness. As far as Anker Jorgensen is concerned, this footnote will once again speak disparagingly of a party leader who claims to want a good reputation.

The government now has passed its budget and won an election victory. It has demonstrated a will to negotiate with the Social Democrats and cannot be blamed for the Social Democrats' refusal to support the budget. If the government had given in to the Social Democrats, it would have cost an additional 3.7 billion kroner. That price would have been more than the merchandise was worth. It looks suspiciously like Anker Jorgensen wanted a situation in which the government could be depicted once again as reactionary and arrogant. But now he stands to gain little by this assertion. It will increase his credibility only among that circle of Social Democratic members of parliament who would have preferred to vote against the budget for the second time.

The beginning of this year in parliament was a bit more dramatic than most people wanted it to be. Now the voters are waiting for parliament to do the day-to-day work that must be done. They also want this work to be done in a more peaceful manner. That would be more becoming of parliament. They also hope that even Anker Jorgensen will calm down somewhat.

Dissatisfaction in SDP With Jorgensen

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 26 Feb 84 p 12

[Editorial: "Rowdies"]

[Text] The Social Democrats' price was much too high. The government would have done violence against itself if it had payed this price to reach a compromise on the budget. Nevertheless, a sizable minority of the Social Democratic group would have voted for the budget, but it was not permitted to do so. As a result, Svend Auken as Anker Jorgensen's deputy, let loose all his wrath on parliament--the government was not going to get away with this infamous deed unscathed. This culminated in a direct threat: the lack of a compromise could have an impact on foreign and defense policies. This was a threat that made Poul Schluter shiver.

There is good reason to be concerned over this threat. This is because the Social Democrats can achieve a majority for a security policy the government cannot accept. During its first year in power the government had to approve resolutions it could accept only because its economic recovery program was so important. The government was forced to make statements and accept obligations that it could not defend but, of course, it tried to live up to them in its actions.

It was the missile issue that helped the Social Democrats put pressure on the government. The parties to the left gladly joined in and the Radical Liberal Party was delighted to reconfirm its nihilistic defense policy. Anker Jorgensen's anti-American position was conveniently used to inspire the Social Democrats to similar actions. The former prime minister now wants to be the European spokesman for a so-called nuclear-free zone. The fact that the government must negotiate a new defense compromise opens the door for many possibilities.

It was clearly demonstrated last year that the Social Democrats had chosen a security policy that is totally different from the one they maintained while in power. They have intentionally broken with the broad unity behind Denmark's membership in the Atlantic pact and the natural consequences of that membership. Apparently, after Svend Auken's bombastic speech in parliament the other day, they intend to go even further in the coming months. Of course, they do not want to justify their new position by any (apparently) serious reconsideration of what they want in the way of security policy. Apparently, their only consideration is to use foreign policy as leverage to make the government meet their demands on economic and social policies.

How many millions will it cost to reestablish unity behind our foreign policy? This was the prime minister's natural response to the Social Democratic attacks. Once again the response was unprovoked violence.

Socialist MP: Jorgensen 'Dictatorial'

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 26 Feb 84 pp 1, Sect II p 1

[Article by Helle Bygum]

[Excerpts] Anker Jorgensen is running the Social Democratic Party like a one-man show. There must be something wrong with a party that celebrates defeats as victories. This was stated by former chairman of parliament K. B. Andersen, who said that the Social Democrats had fallen into a credibility crisis.

In today's magazine section of BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, former chairman of parliament K. B. Andersen accuses Anker Jorgensen of running the Social Democratic Party single-handedly.

K. B. Andersen said it was impossible to run a political party of millions like a one-man show. He added that the normal democratic process had broken down on many occasions.

"The defeat in the parliamentary elections was not as great as previously feared despite the party's policies, not because of them," K. B. Andersen said.

"It was the unbelievable party loyalty and the tremendous work of the 'foot soldiers' that made the difference. Nevertheless, the election was a catastrophe. There is something wrong with a party that celebrates defeats as victories."

K. B. Andersen mentioned the new security policy of the Social Democrats and their refusal to vote for the budget as examples indicating that his party had fallen into a credibility crisis.

"We must seriously discuss how we can escape this credibility crisis. It has to do with both policies and personalities. It is true, as Anker Jorgensen says, that the proper party organizations have agreed with his decisions, but only after he made them on his own. In mathematics the order of the factors is unimportant, but the same is not true in politics," K. B. Andersen said.

"The sudden decisions that are confirmed only retroactively are disturbing."

K. B. Andersen stressed that he was making these statements out of loyalty to the party.

"We must talk about these things. Two election defeats cannot be swept under the carpet."

Criticism Of Party

When asked what was wrong with the party, he answered: "The defeat in the parliamentary elections was not as great as previously feared despite the party's policies, not because of them. It was the unbelievable party loyalty and the tremendous work of the 'foot soldiers' that made the difference."

"Nevertheless, the election was a catastrophe. There is something wrong with a party that celebrates two consecutive defeats almost as a victory."

"This is a catastrophe, because the Social Democrats have always advanced after a period in the opposition. We have always said that it was impossible to rule the country without the Social Democrats--but now we see it is indeed possible."

"I have always voted for the Social Democrats. That is where I belong. Of course, I disagree with certain policies, but the decisive point is the recent change in security policy. That is serious enough and I am not alone in my concern. I have seen this concern throughout the country. It is stronger than any I have ever seen before."

"The Social Democrats, more than ever before, are saying that we are members of NATO. But there are two reasons for this. Last fall there was noticeable concern when questions were raised about Denmark's security policy. But what does this mean in the final analysis?"

"Being a member of a democratic alliance does not mean that the Danish people and the Danish parliament do not determine their own policies. There is no doubt about that. But it also does not mean that a country can pick and choose the ways in which it wants to participate. This would break down solidarity within the alliance. And we are less able to do this than a larger country would be. If we choose not to participate in the entire system, then we have eliminated ourselves de facto from it."

9336

CSO: 3613/102

NEWSPAPERS AROUND COUNTRY COMMENT ON SCHLUTER, SDP FEUD

Copenhagen AKTUEL in Danish 10 Feb 84 p 18

[Article by Frede Ledet]

[Text] What internal tensions are there within the government that are capable of making the ultraloyal government organ BERLINGSKE TIDENDE state that Schluter is in disagreement with his economic affairs minister?

This question was raised and answered by INFORMATION:

"Apparently, Anders Andersen is deeply disturbed by the possibility of 'three-way negotiations' involving LO (Federation of Trade Unions), the Danish Employers' Association, and the government. This fall a negotiating situation of this type could put the Social Democrats in a strong bargaining position and threaten the government's economic policies which have been established by the economic affairs ministers, both of whom are members of the Liberal Party."

Major Segments Of. . .

Referring to the prime minister's speech in parliament on Tuesday, INFORMATION wrote:

"If a new agreement for 1985 is to be reached, which Schluter . . . supported in his speech and which powerful forces within LO want, there must be an agreement between the Conservatives, i.e. large segments of financially strong business interests, and the Social Democrats, i.e. large segments of the Danish labor movement."

There follows one of the clever phrases for which INFORMATION is famous:

"Two forces in Danish society--which do not usually agree, but which are firmly established institutions--seem to agree at present that this compromise must not succeed. They are SiD (Semi-Skilled Workers' Union) and the Liberal Party."

This theme is developed extensively, but without presenting any documentation for this "agreement!"

Simple Matter

POLITIKEN could not conclude from the budget debate that the government was willing to negotiate:

"The reprimand of the finance minister contained in the prime minister's speech gives some indication, however. We can only hope that it will have an effect and that enough unity can be achieved within the government so that it will be able to negotiate with others."

POLITIKEN (which JYLLANDS-POSTEN calls a pseudo-Social Democratic newspaper) also wrote:

"Of course, the more conciliatory tone of the Social Democrats immediately caused SF (Socialist People's Party) to accuse the Social Democrats of betraying their voters. This is not unusual. Obviously, it is easier for SF to blast the Social Democrats and perhaps pick up a few more votes than it would be to act in the interest of the country."

This was followed by a lament in the arch-Radical SKIVE FOLKEBLAD, which is guaranteed to arouse more bitterness.

"We still do not understand why they (the Social Democrats, Ed.) and the Radicals do not join together and determine what policies they can agree on. After all, the government would be forced to follow those policies."

Budtz Loose Again

JYLLANDS-POSTEN commented on Svend Auken's statement that if the Social Democrats made no concessions on domestic policy it could have an effect on foreign and security policy.

"In other words, if the government is not interested in any of the Social Democratic proposals, then Lasse Budtz will be let loose again on the missile issue."

JYLLANDS-POSTEN is looking forward to a situation in which the government "refuses to act," so that the Social Democratic group is "forced to vote against" the budget, after which Schluter must get by with a smaller majority.

And JYLLANDS-POSTEN is already gloating:

"Only the government can save the government from the grave the party dug for itself with such enthusiasm. Why would the government do that?"

Perhaps it would not, but maybe the government wants to salvage its own chances of conducting policies that are more far-sighted.

Watch Your Silver

DAGBLADET of Ringsted rejected Mogens Lykketoft's proposed tax on carpets, paintings, and other expensive furnishings that were "purchased for speculative purposes." Among other things, this purpose would be difficult to determine, according to the paper.

This proposal does not stand a chance as long as the present government is in power:

"But some day, after the old government has returned and a new majority is in parliament, it probably will be a good idea to keep an eye on your silverware."

BORSEN discussed taxes in a different context. On the Andersen-Schluter conflict, the paper stated:

"No one should be surprised if the government is forced to reduce purchasing power by raising taxes and fees if certain wage limitations are disregarded."

"Various governments have done this for decades, so that double-digit wage increases have resulted in reductions in real wages."

Like Scouts

VESTKYSTEN is placing high hopes in the criticism expressed in METAL:

"This might well be the beginning of the end of the Jorgensen era in the country's largest party."

JYDSKE TIDENDE criticized the "scout leaders" who resigned in order to create a more robust corps.

"Political parties usually debate around a coffee table."

In the case of the country's largest party, there may be several coffee tables.

9336

CSO; 3613/103

UNION REJECTS CLOSER TIES TO COMMUNIST PARTY

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 10 Feb 84 p 24

[Article by Ole Schmidt Pedersen]

[Text] The Danish Lithographers Union rejected any closer connection or affiliation with the communist-oriented Danish Typographers Union. The lithographers do not want to take over the typographers' union problems and allow themselves to be dictated to by the Danish CP. The discussion of the joint future of the two unions flared up again following the publication of an editorial in the latest issue of the typographers' paper, DANSK GRAFIA. It said that efforts were under way to unite all graphic workers in one union. "The typographers came up with that interpretation on their own," the lithographers wrote in the latest issue of their paper, GRAFISKE ARBEJDERE. "At this time there is no possibility of establishing a joint graphic union. The political and union disagreements are much too great for that," the paper said.

Politics and the Role of the Danish CP

"It can come as no surprise to anyone that the matter also contains a political aspect. The Danish Lithographers Union and the Danish Bookbinders and Cartonmakers Union recognize the right of the typographers to choose leaders with ties to Dronningens Tvaergade (location of Danish CP headquarters, Ed.) in Copenhagen. We do not wish to dispute that right. But it is equally clear that a merger cannot take place on terms dictated by the Danish Communist Party," the paper wrote.

6578

CSO: 3613/97

PAPER: 'MARXIST REGROUPING' IN SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S PARTY

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 15 Feb 84 p 10

[Editorial: "Marxist Regrouping"]

[Text] When the Socialist People's Party entered Folketing in 1960, they did so flamboyantly. Aksel Larsen had formed the party about a year before that and SF [Socialist People's Party] won 11 seats in the election. It was previously unheard of in Danish politics that a political movement of such power could be formed in such haste. BERLINGSKE TIDENDE called it a "Marxist regrouping in our legislative assembly." And it was.

The regrouping was quite extensive and far-reaching. The election removed the Single-Tax Party from Folketing, in spite of the fact that prior to the election the party had been part of a government that included the Social Democrats and the Radical Liberals. But the Radicals also suffered a serious election setback. The SF gains were part of the reason for this. There were strong pacifist forces in both the former government parties which could now unfold more freely in SF. The Marxist tradition which Aksel Larsen brought with him from the Communist Party of Denmark was mixed with a suitable proportion of pacifism.

Since 1960 other ingredients have been added to SF. Protest marches against nuclear weapons, economic grass-roots views, women's issues and the student revolt are some of the ingredients. SF has had the wind at its back for many years, because it was formed as a parliamentary party in a period when many social ideals came up for debate and when many decided to abandon the previously accepted behavior pattern. For this reason SF has always had the seed of internal conflict within itself. There were conflicting interests when the party was formed and although things are calmer than ever in SF today, we have probably not seen the last party revolt yet.

For although the regrouping proved to be quite stable, SF has not succeeded in gaining a correspondingly stable foothold in any class of society. A lot is said about SF as a labor party, but it has trouble forming a bond between verbal testimony and reality on the job site. It has therefore been impossible to forge any strong ties with the union organizations in the labor movement. SF is and will remain a party for the somewhat rootless

elements who are well-educated, would like a different social order and have little enthusiasm for putting any effort into everyday work on more down-to-earth problems.

Thus there is an internal logic in the fact that the party does best when it is allowed to run in free gear. When it has felt compelled to seek real joint political responsibility or has sought it voluntarily, the result has been declining support or internal splits or both simultaneously. The Marxist regrouping has been stable. But when the actual results are added up, after 25 years, it is somewhat hard to catch sight of the stability.

6578

CS0: 3613/97

FACTION-PRONE SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S PARTY REVIVING STRENGTH

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 15 Feb 84 pp 16-17

[Article by Bjarne Kjaer]

[Text] With almost 390,000 voters standing behind it, Aksel Larsen's party is stronger than it has been at any time during the last 25 years.

With a surge of around 35,000 votes to a total of 387,122 and 21 seats in Folketing, the Socialist People's Party got the best "anniversary present" in the election on 10 January that the party could have received prior to today's 25th anniversary of the founding of SF [Socialist People's Party]. The party that Aksel Larsen, who had been for many years the leader of the Communist Party of Denmark, along with such men as Mogens Fog, Villy Brauer and Gert Petersen founded after the break with the Danish CP, is stronger today than it has been at any time in the party's stormy 25 years of existence.

The blend of disillusioned communists, unaffiliated socialists and others who formed the background for SF in 1959--Aksel Larsen called them the assembled flock of children--was the party's big problem for many years. This led to internal crises, personality clashes and defections to both left and right and threats of party schism. After the latest big clash between the wings in 1976-77, party chairman Gert Petersen has been fairly sovereign as head of SF. The "big helmsman" managed to survive the crisis that could easily have cost Gert Petersen his political life. And he saved himself and the party because he was not "compromised" in advance by a solid affiliation with one of the party's wings.

Democratic Revolution

SF, whose goal is a socialist Denmark with a program for a "socialist revolution on a democratic basis" has apparently succeeded in recent years with younger voters, but it may also be one of the party's "problems" that it is a "workers' party" without much influence on job sites and in the union movement. Here SF has fought a major struggle with the communists for years over the left wing of the labor movement, but it has lost the battle

on the job sites. On the other hand the party has clearly outstripped the communists on the political level. The latest election figures also show that SF is not getting its votes from the "workers." SF gets only about 10-11 percent of its votes from the working class whose interests the party wants to protect.

New SF Paper on the Way?

SF's present chairman, Gert Petersen, was one of the cofounders who set up the Socialist People's Party together with Aksel Larsen on 22 November 1958. However the party was officially founded on 15 February. The 25th anniversary to rally economic support for the publication of a new SF paper. The goal is a million kroner for a SOCIALISTISK WEEKENDAVIS.

"We have an almost desperate need for a newspaper in which we can present our ideas quickly," says Gert Petersen. At one time he was editor of the SF paper which later became SOCIALISTISK DAGBLAD and folded several years ago after many years of economic problems.

Aksel Larsen's Clash with Danish CP

The Soviet CP's settling of accounts with the Stalin era at the 20th party congress in 1956 and the bloody Soviet repression of the uprising in Hungary also had deep repercussions in Denmark and led to a break between Aksel Larsen and the Danish CP which resulted in the founding of SF. For many of its early years the new socialist party was regarded as a new communist party that the ruling Social Democratic Party could not even be in the same room with.

But SF eventually gained a foothold and when the party entered Folketing in 1966 with 20 seats to add to the Social Democrats' 69 seats, there was a socialist majority in Folketing for the first time. Jens Otto Krag and the Social Democratic Party changed their attitude toward SF. "One has a standpoint until one embraces a new one," was Jens Otto Krag's classic comment on the new situation which led to government negotiations between the SDP and SF.

Red Cabinet

Although Aksel Larsen would have liked to join the government, the talks broke down on differences of opinion concerning defense and foreign policy that were too big to overcome. But the outcome of the negotiations was the formation of the "red cabinet; the big new SF group could not stick together, however, and it did not vote for an economic crisis intervention that involved freezing cost-of-living adjustments following in the wake of an English devaluation of the pound in the fall of 1967. SF split up when Hanne Reintoft, Pia Dam, Erik Sigsgaard and others left the party and formed the Left-Socialist Party. In the subsequent election, SF lost nine seats. The SDP-SF majority was gone and we had the V-K-R [Liberal-Conservative-Radical Liberal] government from 1968 to 1971.

Sigurd Omann was party chairman from 1969 to 1974 when Gert Petersen took over as chairman. The internal conflicts in the Folketing group were restrained for a number of years under Morten Lange's leadership of the group. When Omann took over as Folketing group chairman in 1976, it was not long before the internal tensions flared up.

'Larsenists' Out of SF

In 1976-77, SF was threatened with a new split. Strong forces in the left wing of the party and the majority of the party's executive committee wanted the old "Larsenists" thrown out. Morten Lange had gone but Poul Dam, Kristine Heltberg, Henning Philipsen, Kurt Brauer and Sigurd Omann were removed from their posts little by little or placed so far down on the nomination lists that they had no chance of getting back into Folketing. In 1976 they drew up a joint statement that repudiated SF's political course.

Chairman in New York

While the clash between the wings was raging, party chairman Gert Petersen stayed in New York at the UN General Assembly, but had to be called back home to pick up the pieces. He succeeded, but the whole party came close to breaking up.

The left wing in the party stood behind the revolt against right-wing representatives. It was led primarily by the Aarhus party section and a number of people who are now members of the SF Folketing group. The disagreements were primarily about SF's political role. The "Larsenists" thought SF should cooperate with the Social Democrats on such things as income policy and supporting crisis compromises with the Social Democrats and the Radical Liberals, but the left wing said no. The socialist banner should be held high and kept pure. Accusations, "coup plans" and "countercoup plans" were rife.

Deep Traces

The internal clashes in SF have left deep traces both inside the party and in relation to the Social Democrats. It is one of the most important arguments in the Social Democratic movement that SF cannot be regarded as a responsible cooperation partner and that the party has to go through internal conflicts every time the party has to assume a political responsibility and lend a hand in unpleasant interventions along with SDP. In 1967 this led to the formation of VS [Left-Socialist Party], in 1977 the party lost its right wing and in 1979, when SF's Folketing group agreed to a political intervention, including among other things a division of surplus earnings and a tax reform, the party's executive committee said no. This caused the Radical Liberals to jump ship and in reality forced the Social Democrats to cooperate with the nonsocialist parties in 1980-81. That may have been one of the reasons for the big loss of SDP seats in the December 1981 election and the subsequent government change in the fall of 1982, when Anker Jorgensen relinquished government power to Folketing's nonsocialist majority under Poul Schluter's leadership.

Competition on the Left Wing

With Gert Petersen as party chairman and Ebba Strange as group chairman, SF seems more homogeneous today than it has in a long time, although there are still important questions that divide the various factions. The party normally sticks together in Folketing voting, but the competition with VS on the left wing continues and sets its mark on the party. As when some SF Folketing members follow the example of VS by not being in Folketing when the queen and others attend the opening ceremonies or, as happened recently, when five SF people broke ranks with the group and voted with VS and the Progressives in favor of allowing Mogens Glistrup to remain a member of Folketing. At least two of the five were part of the revolt against the "right wing" in 1976-77, namely the newly-elected Jens Toft of Aarhus and Pelle Voigt. But the daily political work in Folketing is also marked by the competition with VS and the extreme left wing.

6578

CSO: 3613/97

VOTERS BACK SCHLUTER, HIS POLICIES IN TWO POLLS

Coalition Would Have Majority

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 4 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by Lisbeth Knudsen]

[Text] The political showdown on the budget and the efforts to combat youth unemployment last month paid off for the government parties among the voters and inflicted losses on the left wing.

The political opinion poll taken by the Gallup Institute for February shows that the Social Democratic Party will keep its number of seats unchanged, but, compared to the election results in January, it has suffered a setback among the voters of 0.6 percent.

Should an election take place now, the government would attain the desired majority in the Folketing solely together with the Radical Liberal Party and without use of the North Atlantic mandates which today are decisive.

The political poll of the Gallup Institute was taken during the fortnight when the negotiations on the budget and the youth unemployment package were at their height among the government, the Social Democratic Party, the Radical Liberal Party, and the Progressive Party. There was no agreement with the Social Democratic Party but an agreement with the Radical Liberal Party and the Progressive Party on the efforts to combat youth unemployment and only votes from the Radical Liberal Party, 2 Faroese votes and one Greenland vote in support of the budget proposed by the government.

Among the voters, the reaction to the negotiations has been an advance for the Conservative Party of two seats, an advance for the Center Democrats of one seat and a setback for the Socialist People's Party and the Left Socialist Party of one seat each. Also the Christian People's Party is losing the gain of one seat which the party obtained in the January election. Beyond the Social Democratic Party, the Radical Liberal Party, the Liberal Party and the Progressive Party retain an unchanged number of seats.

The following table shows the distribution of seats according to the political poll taken by the Gallup Institute, not taking into consideration the two members of parliament elected on the Faroe Islands and the two members of parliament elected in Greenland.

	GALLUP	NOW
Social Democratic Party	56	56
Radical Liberal Party	10	10
Conservative Party	44	42
Socialist People's Party	20	21
Center Democrats	9	8
Christian People's Party	4	5
Liberal Party	22	22
Left-Socialist Party	4	5
Progressive Party	6	6

(1)
**Politisk
indeks**

(3) Spørgsmål: Hvilket
parti ville De stemme på,
hvis der var
folketingsvalg i morgen?

Indsamlingsperiode: (2) 11.februar-23. februar 1984	(21) aug. 1983 pct.	sept. 1983 pct.	okt. 1983 pct.	nov. 1983 pct.	10. jan. 1984 pct.	jan. 1984 pct.	febr. 1984 pct.
Socialdemokratiet .. (4)	32.2	32.2	32.2	32.1	31.6	31.9	31.0
Radikale Venstre (5)	3.0	3.5	3.7	4.2	5.5	5.0	5.5
Konservative Folkeparti .. (6) ..	24.9	25.4	26.9	23.6	23.4	23.2	24.7
Retsforbundet .. (7)	-	-	-	-	1.5	-	-
Socialistisk Folkeparti .. (8)	11.4	11.4	10.7	11.5	11.5	12.1	11.2
Inter.soc. Arbejderparti (9)	-	-	-	-	0.1	-	-
Kommunistisk Parti (10)	-	-	-	-	0.7	-	-
Marx.Lenin. Parti (11)	-	-	-	-	0.0	-	-
Centrum-Demokraterne .. (12) ..	4.4	4.8	4.3	6.2	4.6	4.9	5.0
Kristeligt Folkeparti .. (13)	-	2.1	2.2	-	2.7	2.6	2.4
Venstre .. (14)	12.2	11.3	9.7	9.1	12.1	12.3	12.1
Venstresocialisterne .. (15)	2.3	-	2.9	2.5	2.7	2.7	2.4
Fremskridtspartiet .. (16)	5.7	4.8	4.5	6.9	3.6	3.1	3.5
Andre partier*) .. (17)	1.7	6.6	1.8	3.9	-	2.2	2.2
Ialt	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*) Partier med mindre end 2 pct. af stemmerne. (19)

Eftertryk kun mod anførelse af Gallup og Berlingske som kilde (20)

Key:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Political index | 14. Liberal Party |
| 2. Collection period
11 Feb-23 Feb 84 | 15. Left-Socialist Party |
| 3. Question: Which party would
you vote for if an elec-
tion to the Folketing were
to take place tomorrow? | 16. Progressive Party |
| 4. Social Democratic Party | 17. Other Parties*) |
| 5. Radical Liberal Party | 18. Total |
| 6. Conservative Party | 19. Parties with less than 2 percent
of the vote |
| 7. Single-Tax Party | 20. Reprinting subject to indication
of the Gallup Institute and
BERLINGSKE TIDENDE as source. |
| 8. Socialist People's Party | 21. Percent |
| 9. Inter. Soc. Workers' Party | |
| 10. Communist Party | |
| 11. Marxist-Leninist Party | |
| 12. Center Democrats | |
| 13. Christian People's Party | |

Paper Assesses Party Poll

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 4 Mar 84 p 14

[Editorial: "Their Own Fault"]

[Text] There can be no doubt--not even among the Social Democrats--why the Social Democrats suffered a defeat. They lost the election because the voters have no confidence in them, and, in the final analysis, elections are solely a question of confidence. Platforms and proclamations, promises and foresight are worth nothing if there is no confidence in persons and party. The many people who traditionally feel attached to a certain party may tolerate a lot, but they are not the ones who decide the elections.

At their postmortem on their poor election results, the Social Democrats will openly admit that they have lost credibility among the population. Even Anker Jorgensen admits without reservation that he is well aware of the fact that people do not believe in what the Social Democrats are saying. He must himself feel a direct responsibility for this. For he is the one who, as party leader, has taxed the credibility of the party to such a great extent that it has been lost as far as many voters are concerned.

He also admits that the party has not got used to being in opposition. His leadership of the party has often confirmed the party has not at all been able to maintain an opposition which by the voters might be viewed as an alternative capable of governing the country.

In an article in the Social Democratic periodical NY POLITIK, Knud Heinesen mentions certain things which play an important role. He finds that there is a credibility gap in the area of the economic policy, and nobody would want to contradict him. Compared to the clear and concrete economic policy pursued by the government parties, the Social Democratic opposition policy appears unrealistic, and nobody really believes that it is possible to implement it. Heinesen, furthermore, says that a calmer atmosphere about the question of the security policy would be desirable. It is true that he finds that such a calmer atmosphere will have to be produced by the government, but everybody knows, of course, that it is Anker Jorgensen who has created the unrest through his naive demonstration of positions which depart from the unity on the Atlantic policy.

The Social Democrats will have to face the fact that they will have to go through a prolonged and difficult development before they will be able to regain what they have lost. This is a process which other parties have gone through in the course of history. Both the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party vividly recall how difficult it may be. The Social Democrats will have to learn for the first time. They, no doubt, believed that they would be able to win just because the country has a nonsocialist government, but that is not the way it is anymore. Through their own actions they themselves are to blame for the weakening of their party, and they themselves have to find the strength to revert to the proper course. If they fail to realize this, they will get even more deeply into the morass.

Economic Policies Supported

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 11 Mar 84 p 6

[Article by Asger Schultz]

[Text] The prime minister has just announced that the government does not intend to relax its tight economic policy, and recently the minister of economic affairs stated that, for the same reason, wage increases will have to be closer to zero than 4 percent.

The prime minister, furthermore, has stated that the government does not intend to repeat the classical mistake of relaxing the tight economic policy as soon as unpleasant measures of intervention have begun to improve the economy slightly, with the result that economic difficulties are encountered anew.

It may be said that both philosophies are now supported by the large majority among the voters. This appears from a poll carried through by the Gallup Institute to elucidate the position of the voters on these issues.

A representative section of the electorate, comprising approximately 1,000 respondents, was asked the following question.

"The government has said that, with a view to the economic recovery, it will be necessary to avoid an increase in wages and to keep them at their present level. Do you agree that this is necessary or do you not find it necessary?"

The answers to this question were as follows.

	<u>Necessary</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Necessary</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u>	<u>Total</u>
	%	%	%	%
Total	60	29	11	100
Political affiliation.				
To the right of Social Democrats	86	10	4	100
Social Democrats	42	48	10	100
To the left of Social Democrats	25	61	14	100

The overall majority (60 percent) thus supports the view expressed by the minister of economic affairs, and only half as many (29 percent) cannot accept that wages will not be allowed to increase.

It is not surprising that the voters of the government and its supporting parties almost unanimously want to keep wages down, but that also applies to nearly every other (42 percent) Social Democratic voter, i.e. nearly as many (48 percent) as those who will not accept a wage freeze or anything of the kind.

It is also worth noting that 25 percent of the actual left-wing voters advocate a wage freeze.

The following question was, subsequently, asked:

"Denmark's economic position has now improved. Do you find that the tight economic policy should now be relaxed, or do you find that a tight economic policy should be continued?"

	<u>Should Relax</u>	<u>Cont. Tight Policy</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Total</u>
	%	%	%	%
Total.....	20	68	12	100
Party affiliation:				
To the right of Social Democrats..	7	90	3	100
Social Democratic Party	29	55	16	100
To the left of Social Democrats ..	50	38	12	100

An even larger majority, more than two-thirds of the voters (68 percent) finds that the tight policy ought to be carried on, and only 20 percent of the voters finds that the economic policy may now be relaxed.

Also the absolute majority among the voters of the Social Democratic Party (55 percent as against 29 percent) finds that the tight economic policy ought to be continued, and this message has also made an impression on the left-wing voters. It is true that the majority among them (50 percent) wants to relax the policy, but no less than 38 percent wants a tight economic policy.

A comparison of the most recent poll with previous polls in which similar questions were asked confirms the fact that the majority of the electorate supports the statement by the prime minister referred to earlier in this article to the effect that one should not repeat the mistake of the past of pursuing a far too short-term economic policy.

This appears from the following survey:

	<u>May 1983</u>	<u>September 1983</u>	<u>February 1984</u>
	%	%	%
Continued tight policy	55	55	58
Relaxed policy	33	36	20
No opinion	12	9	12
Total	100	100	100

It appears from the survey that the unpleasant consequences of the tight policy have not had an adverse effect on the voters--on the contrary. The desire for a continuation of the tight economic policy is now, more than 12 months after the government took over, even more pronounced than it was in the spring of 1983. Apparently and, at any rate, so far there is an abundant support among the voters for not giving up "half-way."

Reprinting subject to indication of BERLINGSKE TIDENDE and the Gallup Institute as sources.

7262

CS0: 3613/113

PAPER APPROVES SCHLUTER'S PLEDGE ON ECONOMY

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 8 Mar 84 p 12

[Editorial: "The Economic Line"]

[Text] Prime Minister Poul Schluter has stressed in a statement that the government's economic policy remains firm and that there are no current plans for a rapid tightening up of fiscal policy. The statement should be viewed in particular as a comment on the repeated recent statements concerning the need for a tight fiscal policy that have been made by director Erik Hoffmeyer of the National Bank, most recently at the annual meeting of the Construction Real Credit Fund last week. The National Bank director has even indicated on these occasions how he thought the tightening up process should be accomplished, namely through increasing various item taxes, which would raise prices and slow consumption.

There is reason to back the prime minister in his views. At the moment there is inadequate justification to feel that limiting the rise of consumption will be necessary. In addition, tax packages of one kind or another must be regarded as a continuation of the traditional Social Democratic-Radical Liberal economic policy, something we have not had very good experiences with in the past. A relapse to that line could not avoid having an effect on future business expectations in a negative direction precisely at a time when there is a need for optimism as a background for new investment decisions.

This does not mean that one should be blind to the more doubtful elements in the current economic development, first and foremost the rise in the balance of payments deficit. And as far as that goes, it is a traditional feature of Danish economic policy that the financial policy authorities issue warnings about the weakening of fiscal policy, while the government and Folketing let things slide and do not step in until it is much too late.

The four-party government should not be leading up to that familiar line on economic policy either with its rejection of rapid fiscal policy intervention. The important thing, therefore, is for the government to maintain a substantial improvement of state finances with reference to the 1985 budget. The internal affairs minister's preliminary move on block grants for 1985

to the towns and counties must also be seen against this background. This has already led to cries of anguish from the municipal world and interest organizations will probably follow suit in this respect. But pursuing and expanding this savings line is more important than new tax increases and the like.

And a decisive factor in this is that there is simply no room for general wage hikes in the next few years. A very tight income policy is, as the prime minister pointed out, a vital necessity. It is in this connection that the government's economic policy must pass its decisive test.

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CSO: 3613/97

NEW SDP PROGRAM STRESSING NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, 35-HOUR WEEK

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 7 Mar 84 p 11

[Article by Lisbeth Knudsen]

[Text] The Social Democratic Party is adjusting its security policy and economic policy to its opposition role in a new draft for a working program that was prepared by the party's executive committee.

Social Democratic chairman Anker Jorgensen mentions working for peace and a new technological policy when he is asked to point out important themes in the draft for a new working program that the party's executive committee has sent out for debate by district members. The program will be approved at the party congress in September and local associations are working on proposed amendments to the executive committee's draft.

In the security policy area the program follows the policy the party has backed for the last 2 years in Folketing and the executive committee's draft stresses that there is no alternative to NATO, but that NATO should not be a goal in itself. It points out that "the perspective of detente policy should be a world in which the two military blocs make themselves superfluous."

In a short time there will be a debate in Folketing on NATO in connection with the reinforcement agreements and the possible use of nuclear weapons on Danish soil in the event of a crisis or a war. At an earlier congress the Social Democrats resolved to work to insure that it does not become necessary to accept nuclear weapons on Danish territory following a hectic debate on the removal of the added phrase, "in peacetime."

No Nuclear Weapons on Danish Soil

The new program draft says: "We stand by the decision not to accept nuclear weapons on Danish soil," and Anker Jorgensen refused to comment on whether this means both in war and in peacetime. He also refused to comment on items the left wing might place on the agenda during the debate in Folketing on 15 March on precisely this matter.

The working program, with the title "For New Progress," contains 60 main headings and subsections. The program explains the party's economic policy and states in this context that income policy should continue for a number of years, that an effort should be made to keep taxes stable and that cuts should not be made in areas that affect the weakest groups. In this connection the program says that "a deliberate end should be made to unintentional utilization of the social and labor market insurance systems." At a press meeting yesterday, party vice chairman Knud Heinsen said there were no concrete initiatives behind this sentence. "That would require being part of the administration," he said.

Work Hours

An important part of the party's economic program is a reduction of the work week to 35 hours. In the past neither the party nor the union movement had concluded a debate on whether the reduction should occur in the daily or weekly work hours. The working program has now set this straight.

Reduction of Work Hours

"Workers should be guaranteed a gradual reduction of work time through a reduction of daily work hours." When asked if the party's stand on this matter has now been given its final clarification, Anker Jorgensen answered:

"That is a question of negotiation between the factions on the labor market, but we primarily want a reduction in daily work hours."

The working program says of technology that the Social Democrats will use it to "further democratize society and to insure the individual greater opportunities for participating in the democratic process and receiving a lifelong education."

"The choice of technology is a choice of society," the program says.

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CSO: 3613/97

BRIEFS

COMMUNIST WORKER PARTY'S NEW CHAIRMAN--KAP [Communist Worker Party] has a new chairman for the first time since the party was founded and will embark at the same time on a hard struggle for signatures for the next Folketing election. KAP's chairman since it was founded in 1976, Benito Scocozza, has turned the chairmanship over to 33-year-old psychologist Svend Aage Madsen. In the party he has been especially concerned with the economy and labor market issues and he has been one of the four leading figures in the party. [Text] [Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 5 Mar 84 p 2] 6578

CSO: 3613/97

NEWSPAPER: ALL SIDES SERVED WELL IN EC, GREENLAND PACT

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 22 Feb 84 p 10

[Editorial: "Greenland Well on its Way"]

[Text] It was a noble ending to the long negotiations about Greenland's withdrawal from the EC. Two years after the close majority decision during the referendum in Greenland, satisfactory basis has been established for the withdrawal of Greenland first of the year. The Bruxelles agreement will continue to depend on the ratification by the national parliaments within EC, so there still might be a snag in the time plan. But the decision has been made and there can be no doubt about its implementation.

This is a development that is a credit to all parties concerned. EC has come to terms with one member region withdrawing from the pact in order to go its own way. This is the first time this happens in the history of EC's cooperation and there were no treaty provisions for this to happen. But after thinking the matter over carefully, EC has jointly resolved that it would be right to accept the procedures in view of Greenland's special circumstances and do it in such terms that the withdrawal could take place without damage and bitterness. Greenland got an agreement the Greenlandic population can be pleased with. It yields good compensation for EC fishing in Greenlandic waters and thus secures continued financial support which Denmark would not have been able to replace if it had been removed. Greenland receives abundant opportunities to utilize its own fishing capacity and to develop further. Also, there will be open access to the European markets for Greenlandic products.

During the last phase of the negotiations, the European governments made the withdrawal agreement better for Greenland than the EC commission had proposed. When that fell apart, superior political consideration was allowed to weigh heavier than the outright economic arguments. Nobody would have been served with results from the negotiations that carried the seed of future contrary conditions.

It was of joint interest to get through these proceedings with the basis for good and secure conditions. On a broader European perspective it is not only a question of economic relations but about cooperation of security policy.

It was not Denmark's wish that Greenland should withdraw from EC. But the government and its predecessors have shown the Greenlandic Home Rule government's decision extremely loyal respect and it has represented it quite effectively. The recognition of Greenland's timely special position has been brought forth unremittingly and patiently by the Danish government in other European capitals. There lies a model of pedagogic diplomacy behind the negotiation results which were obtained in Bruxelles.

Even if Greenland's decision to go alone can be perceived as a weakening of the unity of the two countries, the cooperation in implementing the decision should serve to strengthen it.

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CS0: 3613/99

BRIEFS

FIRST GREENLANDIC UNIVERSITY--Greenland's first institute of higher education, Ilisimatusarfik (Inuit Instituttet) in Nuuk (Godthab) has been officially opened. So far there are five instructors and 11 students who in 2 years from now will receive what corresponds to a Danish minor degree. They will be qualified to immediately get positions at Greenlandic institutions, such as the National Library, the National Museum and the Greenlandic Archives. The chairman of the institute is Professor Robert Petersen who earlier was connected with the Eskimologic Institute at the University of Copenhagen. [Text] [Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 25 Feb 84 p 2] 9583

CSO: 3613/99

SPD PROPOSES GREATER EUROPEAN POLITICAL WEIGHT

Ehmke Urges 'Self-Assertion'

Bonn DIE WELT in German 26 Jan 84 p 10

[Article by Peter Phillips: "The SPD Wants to Strengthen Europe's Influence "]

[Text] In the SPD there are increasing efforts to unite the political forces it has awakened in the course of the NATO armament debate in its favor for a constructive German-European security policy. With this in mind, the deputy party chairman, Horst Ehmke, developed an extensive program for "European Self-Assertion" and announced it yesterday.

According to the party, however, differences have arisen in the discussions of the official working groups. This also explains why the former federal minister, Dieter Haack, speaks in somewhat different tones in an article for the magazine DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, an article that DIE WELT had previous knowledge of.

Ehmke begins his considerations with the idea that it is now of primary importance to develop "operative points of departure" for the improvement of Europe's position in the world. The West Europeans should "also speak with one voice in security matters, even against the U.S." The SPD politician, in whose paper there is evidence everywhere of the European Election Program and of the basic tenets of Willy Brandt, therefore returns again and again to the idea that the SPD Chairman has emphasized, the idea of the late U.S. President Kennedy of the "two pillars of NATO." On this basis, according to Ehmke, Europe must take over "more responsibility for the defense of the European central front." Out of such a West European policy of strengthening its influence in the alliance, "a meaningful division of labor could also arise outside of NATO."

In this connection, Ehmke develops the idea that West Europe, with "greater independence, without claiming to be a world power," would become "more attractive for Eastern Europe as well as for the Mediterranean area and for the Third World." But nowhere does the deputy party chairman leave any doubt that all European independence -- including that of the Germans -- is only conceivable on the basis of NATO membership.

"With all of the justified criticism of current American policy, a dissolution of the alliance is something that it is even less possible for the Europeans to consider than for the Americans. For us Germans, the American guarantee of protection for West Berlin is a powerful additional argument." And in the "appendix" to his paper Ehmke stresses -- in this point clearly more restrictively than the earlier Social Democratic security analyst, Egon Bahr -- that the alliance "must hold fast to the strategy of flexible response as long as no new, better strategy has been developed."

Ehmke expressed himself quite briefly in his paper on the German policy. The most essential consideration is that it must be embedded in "a total European policy."

Haack on the other hand, in his ten points on "German policy and security policy," includes German policy in the middle of his considerations and builds up the remaining elements of policy around it.

Above all, he brings much more clearly into relief than Ehmke does that the Western alliance not only guarantees the military security of the partners, but also is "a political community of values." Precisely during the necessary discussions about new strategies it must not be overlooked "that on German soil not only a conflict between world powers will be carried out, but also a struggle for the better human order." The balance of forces "that is to prevent war" therefore has for the Germans "not only a security policy dimension, but also serves to preserve a liberal way of life."

Just as Ehmke did, Haack stresses the interest of the Europeans to expand their "right to participation" in NATO. And he too points to the fact that these possibilities of co-determination depend to a decisive degree "upon the degree of unity among themselves."

Haack also takes up the idea of the "security partnership" between East and West that had been brought into the discussion in the 1970's by Helmut Schmidt and later became an essential element in Bahr's considerations. Haack points to the danger of misunderstanding that can come out of this concept: security partnership can only mean that "West and East are duty-bound to handle crises," and are therefore partners. However this concept cannot replace the policy of balance of power, "nor can it justify indefensible concessions in the hope that the other side will reply in kind." Whoever would want to use the idea of the security partnership to distance us from the U.S. or to turn us away from the idea "that we must be a part of the North Atlantic security system, would awaken dangerous distrust among our allies." And, according to Haack, there can be no "special, independent, inner-German security partnership."

U.S. Economic Policy Criticized

Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 26 Jan 84 p 5

[Excerpt] A program that is in essential areas of politics and economics different from that of the U.S. is to strengthen Europe's independent role while at the same time holding fast to the Western alliance. This is provided for in a plan of the deputy SPD party chairman, Horst Ehmke, with the title of "European Self-Assertion," which the politician presented together with Katharina Focke, the party's leading candidate in the European elections in Bonn on Wednesday.

At the same time, Ehmke's plan also contains economic passages. The stress is on a comprehensive criticism of what he calls the "ruthless economic policy" of the U.S. with gigantic budget deficits caused by armaments, and with high interest rates, increasing trade imbalance, and reduction of aid to developing countries. There was renewed confirmation of the already well-known SPD plans for a separation from the U.S. dollar by means of capital flow controls and extension of the European Monetary System (EMS). To be sure, he also censures protectionist developments in the European Community.

It seems important to Ehmke to join France in following the latter's lead in industrial and technological policy in order to increase competitive ability in the face of the U.S. and Japan, and also to support Paris in the efforts to reform the Community.

SPD Conservatives Sceptical

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 26 Jan 84 p 2

[Text] The deputy SPD party chairman in the Bundestag, Horst Ehmke, presented a paper on foreign and security policy on Wednesday that is to serve as a new description of the future course of the opposition. Under the title, "Considerations on European Self-Assertion," the current situation in the Atlantic alliance and within the European Community is critically examined, and the attempt is made to draw new inferences from this for the future policy of Western Europe in cooperation with the United States.

In one of the first discussions, the content was criticized in the official party working circle of the right wing. They said Ehmke's paper criticized the U.S. too strongly and did not pay enough attention to the threat from the East. One of the spokesmen of this group is the SPD representative Dieter Haack, who for his part published a paper with ten theses that dealt with future German and security policy. In it, clearly "every seesaw policy between East and West" is rejected, and it is made clear that a policy in favor of European interests in NATO must in no way endanger the partnership between Europe and the U.S.

Ehmke's concept includes the demand that Europe's role should also be strengthened and unified in security questions, that the NATO partners should enter into a new division of labor both inside and outside the alliance, that

every attempt must be rejected that tries to bring American world power interests into the alliance, interests that are not compatible with the clear task of NATO, and finally that along with security policy questions, the problems must be discussed that have arisen because of the ruthless economic, monetary, and financial policy of the United States. The significance of future German-French cooperation is specially emphasized, in the conventional military area as well, and possibilities are discussed about how in the future the security policy of France and of the other NATO states can be better meshed with one another. Here Ehmke assigns an important role to the avenues of consultation within the EC.

The paper goes back to the concept worked out two decades ago by the American President Kennedy of a "Partnership of Equals" and an alliance based on two pillars. In extensive passages, the role of Europe in the world economic and technological complex is described, and it stresses the necessity for the European countries to work out a common strategy to remove themselves from their dependence on the American dollar.

Ehmke's considerations, which he developed at the request of the SPD chairman, Brandt, and of the parliamentary party chairman, Vogel, will now be discussed by a working group of the party. From this there is supposed to appear in February a comprehensive foreign policy operational concept of the opposition.

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CSO: 3620/187

SPD SETS TASKS FOR 'BASIC VALUES' COMMISSION

Bonn VORWAERTS in German 2 Feb 84 p 7

[Article by "gops": "Green Light for New SPD Program"]

[Text] The SPD executive committee gave the "green light" for the debate on a new SPD basic program on Monday. The basis for the debate is a report by the basic values committee submitted by Erhard Eppler and Richard Loewenthal.

The party's basic values committee makes the unanimous recommendation "to prepare a new basic program, to debate it and to approve it during the course of this decade." At the same time, no member of the committee feels that "the basic decisions of the Godesberg Program" should be tampered with.

The committee includes the following affirmations among these basic decisions:

- to the democratic way of life; to its defense and its expansion;
- to the Basic Law and "thereby to the state based on this constitution which the SPD helped found, build and develop;
- "to democratic socialism as an enduring, never completed endeavor;"
- "to ideological of our party;"
- to the basic values of freedom, justice and solidarity;
- to the popular party concept;
- to the "recognition of the marketplace as a major element of the economy of all industrial nations."

These Godesberg precepts continue to apply unchanged. But the world, says the committee report, "in which these precepts are to be transformed into practical policy has undergone substantial change."

The report goes on to list the following social crises which have taken place over the past few years: unemployment; technical change; continuing world economic division of labor; destruction of the environment; indebtedness of the poor as well as semi-industrialized nations; the quantitative and qualitative arms buildup by the big powers; the change in social awareness and the rise of new social movements.

These are some of the shortcomings of the Godesberg Program mentioned in the report:

—"The program goes on the assumption that there will be economic growth for the foreseeable future..."

—Faith in science as such as the engine of technical and economic progress ...is still uncontested...

—The contention and the hope that technological progress is in itself a neutral factor and can always be turned to advantage in the end is upheld in major segments of the Godesberg Program;

—The Godesberg Program lacks the ecological viewpoint...

—The approach to women, the family and young people is based on an obsolete view of the role of the family and of the two sexes;

—[The Godesberg Program] contains mere hints of the North-South dichotomy;

—With respect to foreign policy, the Godesberg Program focuses on the question of how 'the German people can be reunited on the basis of free self-determination.' The UN is almost the only international organization mentioned in the Program. There is no mention of NATO and the EC is referred to in only a vague way as one of the 'regionally limited, supranational communities.'

So much for the shortcomings enumerated by the Eppler committee which then proceeds to submit definite proposals on how to correct them on the basis of the individual sections of the Godesberg Program. These, for instance, are the recommendations on national defense:

—"A predominantly national approach to security matters cannot be sustained. For that reason, the concept of a /national/ defense present a problem.

—It is absolutely necessary to include a statement on our links to NATO and our position on the East-West controversy.

—In this context, a clearly affirmative statement vis-a-vis the Bundeswehr is needed.

—The distinction between defense and deterrence must be clarified as must the trends toward destabilization of deterrence...

—Efforts must be made to achieve mutual security where the security of one side is understood to subsume the security of the other.

The "international community" section of the Godesberg Program is viewed by the Eppler committee to be "far removed from the realities of our day." The new basic program should collect under one title all issues relating to foreign, security, Germany and peace policy.

One chapter should deal with the military aspects of the threat to and the preservation of peace. "This is the place where the affirmation of our ties to the West and to NATO belong as well as the common security interests of West and East Europeans and the fact that the conventional as well as the changing strategies of nuclear deterrence are by now mutually exclusive so that different forms of security must be sought out."

Regarding the future of the Germans in both states, the basic values committee recommends "that we subordinate the reunification of the Germans—though certainly not in a classic national state—to the attainment of peace, without, however, relinquishing the right to self-determination."

The committee also went into questions of economic and social policy at some length, recommending a "complete revision."

The committee proposes that ecological issues not be separated from the chapter on economics but rather that an economic order be created which "will permit the implementation of necessary ecological programs." Partnership with the Third World, the committee recommends, should be "an integral part of our economic planning."

Among the major SPD economic policy goals listed by the committee are: "jobs for everyone; humanization of work; equitable distribution of the means of livelihood; lasting prosperity; maintenance and preservation of nature, the environment and of natural resources and, partnership with the Third World."

The following are some of the detailed recommendations made by the committee:

—Jobs for everyone; redistribution of labor;

—Support for innovation while maintaining social control of technology;

—Selective growth, oriented toward the quality of life;

—This includes new approaches in the field of energy; in construction and housing; transportation, agriculture and the direct care and protection of the environment and of natural resources;

—International cooperation—also as part of the preservation of peace; co-operation with developing countries;

—Steps leading to more equitable distribution; use of public funds and taxation as a means of political organization; creation of productive capital.

In the area of social policy, the committee raises the question of whether the call for minimum retirement benefits should be included in the new basic program again. The program would also have to include language dealing with the funding of social security—"particularly if the party decides to strike out in a new direction (where funding is not based on work concept alone)."

The committee also considers it important that "the social welfare apparatus be opened...to participation by those concerned; that cooperation between professionals and non-professionals be increased and that assistance for self-help is extended."

The committee would also like to see some language included dealing "with a more flexible adjustment of the social security systems to different life situations and needs." In this context, reference is made to a Swedish formula which offers the option of combining partial retirement income and part-time work income 5 years prior to and 5 years after retirement.

9478

CSO: 3620/189

CAUTION RAISED ON SPD 'BASIC VALUES' REVISION

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT in German 3 Feb 84 p 3

[Article by Gesine Schwan: "The Needle Has to Point Westward"]

[Text] The SPD is in the midst of a transition phase at this time. As it searches for new directions, the crucial question is whether the Godesberg Program still holds. Our author, herself a member of the SPD basic values committee and a political scientist in Berlin, wishes to see the new terrain provided with some signposts.

There are many who worry and some who hope at this time that the SPD—now that it is in the opposition—is leaving its 1959 Godesberg Program behind. The topical reason for this is the publication of a lengthy study which the SPD basic values committee has just finished after 2 years of work under the chairmanship of Erhard Eppler. In preparing a new program, the committee's task was to examine the still valid Godesberg Program with regard to three main questions: Which of the Godesberg tenets should the SPD adhere to unconditionally in the future? Which of the principles need to be modified in the light of the experiences and changes over the past 25 years? Which new urgent problems are not at all addressed in the Godesberg Program?

When we started our work in the basic values committee, I thought it was a risky business to try and work up a new basic program for the SPD. Looking at the situation from the Godesberg point of view, was it not correct to worry—given the inner disunity of the SPD—that some major opinion leaders and some dynamic "basis" sentiments which already are far removed from Godesberg would gain the upper hand in the formulation of a new program and would throw the SPD for a loss? I have no doubt whatever but that such trends have existed and that they still exist today. Which is another reason why I understand why the thought of a new program raises fears and concerns rather than hopes among those who look upon the Godesberg Program as a positive symbol.

Nonetheless, the work in our committee where differences were debated openly and at times passionately has shown that there still are ways inside the SPD not only to agree on compromise language but also on substance or at least to meet each other halfway, if one approaches disputes in an open and at the same time argumentative manner. The study just published has thus been agreed upon by all the committee members and if one reads the paper carefully, one will not find that we have turned our backs on the Godesberg Program.

For that matter, the latter possibility was never even discussed by the committee which does not mean that there were no major areas of dissent left which by implication might lead to a departure from the Godesberg Program. This reservation applies above all to the field of international affairs and in particular to peace, security and Germany policy. In these fields, the committee made no specific recommendations but only went so far as to provide a joint listing of the problems. And these are the areas in which the most explosive differences remain—not only inside the committee but within the SPD as a whole.

Since the SPD must achieve inner unity on these substantive issues which conforms to the Godesberg spirit, it is all the more important to point to the wide range of issues on which the committee did agree. These include an affirmation of the defense and expansion of the democratic process; of the Basic Law and of the form of government provided for in the constitution; of democratic socialism as an enduring process which cannot be terminated by any sort of utopian state of harmony; of the ideological openness of our party and of the basic values of freedom, justice and solidarity. They also include an affirmation of the concept of a broad-based popular party and the recognition of the marketplace as an important element in every industrial society. These tenets should not and must not be shaken.

Using this as its point of departure and recalling some of its earlier studies, the basic values committee points out the challenges for which a politico-programmatic response must be found and which in 1959 either were not yet part of the agenda or at least not to the extent they are today.

Today, we cannot simply pin our hopes on economic growth as a means of promoting social equality and overcoming unemployment.

Technological change has accelerated dramatically and as a consequence we are confronted with difficult problems in the areas of job policy and security technology.

Progress in the world economic division of labor has led to profound crises in many sectors of industry—particularly in the basic industries.

The threat to the environment and concern about immeasurable and in part insidious poisoning have both increased dramatically.

The problems of the poor and semi-industrialized nations (particularly their indebtedness) must be dealt with more resolutely.

The quantitative and (even more so) the qualitative arms buildup are leading to a dangerous destabilization of the world situation.

Changes in social awareness, diminishing faith in progress and new social movements are pointing in the direction of new parameters in political action.

Although the basic values committee carefully avoided anticipating or pre-judging the work of a future program committee, it not only worked out lists of problems on specific issues in accordance with its own mission but also made recommendations for a number of changes and revisions on the basis of the Godesberg Program. These include an attempt to formulate anthropological precepts which might guide SPD policies. These precepts speak to the dignity of man which subsumes basic values and basic rights; to the recognition of man's imperfection but also of his capacity to learn; to man's being a part of nature but also to his individuality, uniqueness and special character, and to the link between self-determination and responsibility for one's fellow man. Other points made by the committee were that the relationship between equality and justice (such questions as the extent to which the claim to equality may be upheld and the extent to which justice may also include inequality) must be more carefully defined in any future basic platform. The basic values committee agreed that solidarity should not only apply to those who hold common views or interests but also—as a basis for government action—to non-equals. But here the important proviso was made that this claim to solidarity should not serve as a cover for differences of interest or as the basis of inadmissible prerogatives.

In regard to the state's role, the committee worked for a more precise definition of the social welfare calendar. State concern for the welfare of its citizens must be linked to private responsibility in such a manner that the chains of bureaucracy are loosened or removed, if possible—but without burdening the individual citizen once again with inadmissible risks. The committee agreed on the need to discuss new issues arising from the new media and those dealing with data protection and policy toward foreign nationals. A new basic platform should also include a statement on government goals regarding the protection of the natural environment as well as the right to a job and job training. The committee did not agree on whether our Basic Law should be amended to include greater plebiscitary elements.

Many political observers will take a close or very hopeful look at the recommendations the committee made on economic and social issues. The fact that the committee called for a complete revision on these issues might

appear at first glance to mark a departure from the Godesberg Program; but the truth is that many of the recommendations are fully in line with the 1959 guidelines. Of course, the ecological threat and the social consequences of stepped-up technological change which are not taken into account by the individual sectors of the economy do call for greater public responsibility. The committee has therefore labeled this particular section of its report: "A Socially and Ecologically Justifiable Economic Order."

The committee felt that a "democratically directed market economy" offered the best guarantee for a humane society. The committee recommended that such an economy should include both elements of state or decentralized direction (in the dual sense of subsidizing technological innovation and lowering social costs resulting from technological progress) and of free market principles, of pluralism and structural variety (as for example with regard to private property).

The committee felt that not only the ecological aspects of economic activity are of importance but also the need to make international cooperation a major part of its position on social and economic research both with regard to the preservation of peace and cooperation with the developing countries. The future character of work—not only with regard to its economic consequences—must also be given priority attention.

There is a close traditional link within the SPD between faith in progress and in science. Both have dampened somewhat in the years since the Godesberg Program was adopted. No enlightened Social Democrat these days believes any longer that there are any ultimate scientific authorities who know the ultimate answers to the future. Without permitting ourselves to lapse into irrationalism or anti-intellectualism, we must pay much closer attention, the committee recommends, to the relativity of scientific pronouncements as well as the ethical responsibilities of individual scientists and the political significance of government subsidies which in many instances set the course for future developments. All told, the committee recommendations call for the following revisions:

Particularly in view of the experiences of 13 years of government responsibility, the SPD should be somewhat more reticent in proclaiming its hopes for the future.

The SPD should consider some of its goals as having been achieved—such as basic social welfare legislation.

The SPD should recognize that a number of other goals can only be met by means of more diversified political action—as for instance in the area of social and economic policy and with regard to the problem of bureaucratization.

The SPD must give more room in its programs to public responsibility (particularly with regard to the ecology and to unemployment resulting from technological change) and must define its principles more precisely.

Up to this point, the answer to the question of whether the SPD is turning its back on the Godesberg Program is clearly in the negative. To be sure, the committee consensus does not by any means apply to the party as a whole although the most diverse positions were represented on the committee. But above all, the committee did not reach any agreement on peace, security and Germany policy.

As before, the major differences both on the committee and inside the party revolve around a completely disparate assessment of the present-day East-West conflict. Has it turned into nothing but a big power rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union toward which we, as Europeans, may take a neutral position or is it a conflict of systems and values toward which we must take a clear position—namely that of being a part of the West? And if the East-West conflict is based upon different systems and values as before, what is its role with regard to the differences between North and South?

Up to now, the SPD and its leadership have neither found the strength, nor taken the initiative for a thoroughgoing discussion of this issue. Instead, influential politicians—such as Horst Ehmke with his memorandum on "European Self-Assertion"—have recently been trying to stop the worrisome drift of more and more segments of the SPD away from the ideological ties to the West by reaffirming the ties to the West, to NATO and the community of values with the United States and by "buying out" the drifters by launching massive attacks against the Americans. That is a scheme which will not work.

The SPD would be better advised to leave the rhetoric aside and to bring its position on detente up to date—a policy which at one time met with great approval among the population and whose spirit would still provide most social democrats with a rallying point. This would be preferable to conjuring up a nostalgic past and giving vent to disappointment over its demise by blaming the Americans for allegedly having brought it about. A first step in the direction of such a future-oriented detente program would be to draw up a sober balance sheet on what has been achieved and an equally sober analysis of the present state of the world—particularly as concerns the goals and interests not only of the United States but also of the Soviet Union because the fact is that the "European self-assertion" policy called for by Horst Ehmke (which has been contested within the party) does hinge after all on who it is that threatens Europe and where the threat stems from.

Thus far the SPD has not come up with a much-needed analysis of the long-range goals and interests of the Soviet Union and particularly an analysis of whether and how the Soviet Union poses a threat to the West. Ehmke's 63-page memorandum does not contain a single word about these matters. But many social democrats can no longer see the Soviet Union threatening Western

Europe. Since NATO membership no longer makes any sense in the absence of such a threat, these social democrats are being quite logical when they say that membership in the Western alliance is superfluous so as not to say harmful in the sense that it casts this allegedly superannuated conflict in concrete.

For the very reason that I am convinced of the fact that many of these members of our party would agree to the renewed and unequivocal affirmation of Western democracy by the basic values committee—at least after some lengthy arguments—and that they would be prepared to defend our country, if they thought it were faced with a serious threat, I believe that the real differences within the party in regard to the continuation of detente policies and the position vis-a-vis the two big powers are based on differences in the assessment of the Soviet Union's policies toward the world, toward Europe and toward Germany.

It seems as though the continuing hands-off attitude toward Soviet policy is based on a fear that detente would be doomed for all time, if the public were made fully aware once again of the consistently expansive character of Soviet policy and the communist system's lack of flexibility in guaranteeing human and civil rights. I think there are no grounds for this fear.

First, there is some flexibility after all—particularly in some East European countries—which are traceable to detente.

Secondly, there is no real alternative for Europe and for us Germans. None of us have anything to gain from sterile confrontation.

Thirdly, a well-conceived renewal of detente, based on sober analysis, would help relax our relationship with the United States, paving the way to a genuine dialogue which would in turn increase our impact on American policies and strengthen our own security.

And finally, since the present government coalition does not have an overall political program to offer either, the SPD would stand to gain in stature as a realistic as well as future-oriented party of hope which could then be entrusted with the reins of government once again.

The heart of such a program would have to be an SPD policy dedicated to human rights. With respect to this very issue, the Greens are presently making gains among the younger generation at the expense of the SPD.

The SPD must first deal with these issues and construct a sober, well-conceived policy which links the securing of peace and of the existence of the free Western democracies—as an inalienable requisite of real peace on a worldwide basis—with a convincing plan for renewed detente. Only then will there be an answer to the question of whether it is turning its back on the Godesberg Program. In the absence of such a framework, however, any and all program pronouncements made thus far are no more than a torso.

But much would be gained nonetheless, if the party were generally willing to recognize that torso. It would provide the standards with the help of which an SPD consensus could be achieved on a revised Godesberg security program and on a global strategy for peace which is a reflection of the patient, worldwide development of social democracies. But it will no doubt take some time before we reach that point.

9478

CSO: 3620/189

ECONOMIC ISSUES IN SPD 'BASIC VALUES' REVISIONS

Duesseldorf WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE in German 17 Feb 84 pp 24-26

[Unattributed article: "Preparing for Big Push"]

[Text] The SPD has begun its debate on a new party program. The party is pinning its hopes on a—democratically directed—market economy.

At the last SPD party congress prior to the change in government, SPD executive director Peter Glotz made the following forecast: "On the day that we will no longer be running the government at long last—Willy Brandt has figured out that that will be in 2032—we will start on a debate on a new party program."

It took only a few months for that prognosis to be overtaken by reality; but in a sense, Glotz was right just the same. The debate on the new party program now underway has been scheduled to last 4 years. It will be the fifth such program in the 120-year history of the SPD and is to take the place of the 1959 Godesberg Program as well as set SPD policy goals beyond the end of the second millenium.

The SPD basic values committee, which submitted a lengthy catalog of revisions of the Godesberg Program last month, provided a foretaste of the debates among the party faithful at the local, regional and countrywide level. "The differences of opinion were discussed openly and at times passionately," was the way one member of the committee, Berlin political scientist Gesine Schwan, has put it. And that is no wonder, since leftwing committee chairman Erhard Eppler had rightwing political scientist Richard Loewenthal as his deputy.

For all that, the basic outlines of one of the main segments of the program—the part dealing with economic and social policy—is already finished although another dealing with East, West and security policies is not. More outspokenly than in the Godesberg Program, the SPD affirms its support of the market economy concept. The existing program still calls for socialization of private enterprises.

Looking back on it, SPD fraction vice chairman Wolfgang Roth now calls it "a mealy-mouthed compromise" because the opening toward the liberal middle class was implemented primarily by then rising star Prof Karl Schiller, who had continuing support from the then party treasurer Herbert Wehner.

Even prior to the actual start of the intra-party debate, Glotz manipulated history somewhat by saying that the SPD would have to continue "hewing to the market economy" line. And economic expert Heinz Rapp is advising the party to "add a healthy shot of Schumpeter and go easy on Keynes."

Even leftwingers like Hans-Ulrich Klose, the former mayor of Hamburg who presently holds a Bundestag seat, feels the SPD working group on labor issues' call for socializing the steel industry is a "wrong signal" and a "desperate decision" which raises the danger "that we try to solve 20th century and early 21st century problems by 19th century means."

But as for "directing the market," the SPD is not prepared to relinquish that concept. Loewenthal recalls the past in pointing out that the FRG "did very well indeed" operating along Keynesian lines for 25 years. Today, there is an "imperative need," he says, to design "new types of direction for market economies" as for example by means of "indirect control of investments."

The basic values committee called for a "democratically controlled market economy" consisting of two components: state or decentralized control to subsidize technological advances for example but also to lower social expenditures arising from technological progress—and the free market, pluralism and variety in business size and ownership.

In principle, the SPD is agreed on retaining the Godesberg Program's call for co-determination and a "just distribution of income and capital" but also on including some new items in the program such as the international interlocking of economies, environmental protection and protection against data abuse—"the whole Orwell scenario," as Klaus von Dohnanyi, a member of the SPD executive committee has said.

There is bound to be violent debate on the question of how much technological progress may be accepted the effect of which on the labor force cannot be predicted in advance. "There are no undesirable technological developments which the SPD's potential for reform would be unable to correct," says Roth. But Klose, in modifying the SPD's 1969 campaign slogan of "We Are Building a Modern Germany," tries to describe a basic sentiment inside the SPD today. "At the moment," he says, "our secret slogan really is 'We Are Afraid of a Modern Germany.'"

Although the debate has barely started, Dohnanyi is already looking ahead at longer-range goals. In addition to the basic platform, he says, the party must come up with a program of action which includes clear guidelines

to be followed over the course of clearly defined time periods. As far as the debate on the program is concerned, both rightwing and leftwing social democrats view it as a way to get the two wings of the party to arrive at a consensus.

As for Rapp, a member of the basic values committee, he has still another thing in mind. In Godesberg, he says, "the cornerstone was laid that provided confidence in our party and resulted in our subsequently taking over the reins of government. There is no reason why history should not repeat itself."

9478

CSO: 3620/189

CPSU ENTERS COMMUNIST PRESS FIGHT: KAJANOJA MAKES APPEAL

Congress Handed Press Issue

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 25 Feb 84 p 8

[Article by Kyosti Karvonen: "Communists Waiting for May; SKP Central Committee Further Postpones Press Decision"]

[Text] Now living in expectation of May, the Finnish Communist Party (SKP) Central Committee will meet for an interim session at the end of this week. The Central Committee is not expected to make any significant proposals to the 20th party congress for a decision.

The SKP is as though immobilized in a plaster cast waiting for the results of the party congress delegate elections which are to begin during the first half of March and on the basis of which they will already be able to decide what will happen at the congress. During the same gap between March and April the SKP will receive a visit from a delegation sent by its brother party, the CPSU, which is coming to sniff out the atmosphere.

At this point the only thing that is clear is that 196 delegates going under the designation majority and 151 Stalinist minority delegates will attend the congress in Culture House.

Majority faction unity will be the biggest question mark at the congress — to be sure, especially third line delegates, "Kajanoja followers," claim that the Stalinists are not as smoothly unanimous as they let on either.

No "Fence-Sitters" Wanted

In many SKP moderate districts they have left for the congress elections determined not to admit "fence-sitters" as congress delegates.

A good example of this is the Helsinki District, which tackled well-known names to get them out of the congress as early as the candidate nomination phase. Things went awkwardly for party culture secretary Erkki Rautee as well as for Cooperation Press chief editor Erkki Kivimäki.

Rautee was short of winning the nomination in his party cell's voting by one vote, while Kivimäki, who is referred to as the godfather of the SKP and father of the press proposal, was beaten, losing the nomination by 16 to 2.

The situation is the same in the SKP's strongest district, Lapland. The district has ignored the Politburo recommendation to allow the two Stalinist cells that have been ousted from the district to participate in the party congress elections.

The moderates, on the other hand, are having difficulties in at least the Kainuu District where district chairman Arvo Kempainen has tried to smoke out Stalinist-leaning district secretary Reino Leinonen. The small district organizations, in which the "development of unity" promoted by party chairman Jouko Kajanoja has caught on most, may rise to the decisive position of pointer on the scale at the congress. At least the districts of Pietarsaari and South Savo are considered to be behind Kajanoja.

Conflicting attitudes toward the different issues are, however, complicating the internal situations of the district organizations. For example, in the moderate district of Satakunta they took a negative view of first secretary Arvo Aalto's motion to return to the government after the communal elections, but, on the other hand, the district supports tough measures directed against the Stalinists.

Press Proposal Postponed Again

The party leaders had promised the Central Committee, which met on the weekend, a proposal for a decision on the so-called press issue, but the matter was postponed until at least April. The committee that was to draft a decision on the press issue had not yet gotten anything done. The matter can be pushed in April once the balance of power question is settled.

Last fall the Central Committee called for the drafting of a proposal for the party congress on a merger of the weekly, YHTEISTYÖ, founded at the end of the year, and the Stalinist mouthpiece, TIEDONANTAJA.

The resolution also called for the "diversification" of KANSAN UUTISET, controlled by the moderates, with Stalinist editors.

Not a single essential part of the decision on the press issue was worked out since it had already been decided at a special congress to found a weekly. Hardly anyone but Kajanoja, who bases his optimism on the fact that in the fall a healthy majority of the Central Committee approved the press decision, believes in the merger of YHTEISTYÖ and TIEDONANTAJA. And for the moderates closing down TIEDONANTAJA is an unconditional prerequisite for the founding of a new daily.

The key individuals in the moderate districts will discuss the resolutions to be made at the party congress a few weeks before it is held. Not all moderates will swallow "hard liner" resolutions. An alternative worth considering is

for them to continue with their former course in the SKP after May as well. Stalinist leader Taisto Sinisalo indicated this direction during a SAVON SANOMAT interview.

While the Central Committee does not make big decisions, at meetings those who want party leadership posts have an opportunity to heighten their profiles. In addition to first secretary Aalto, the second chairman of the SAK [Finnish Confederation of Trade Unions], Olavi Hanninen, ex-Minister Jarmo Wahlstrom and Construction Workers Union chairman Aarno Aitamurto are pushing for such posts. The Stalinists are satisfied with Kajanoja and are urging parliamentary delegation chairman Veikko Saarto, who has declined to accept the honor, to run for first secretary. Saarto is, nevertheless, not out of the race for the chairmanship.

Soviet Magazine Attacks 'Majority'

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 25 Feb 84 p 8

[Article: "Soviet Magazine's Judgment: 'The News Media Have Sabotaged SKP Unity'"]

[Text] Moscow (STT)—The Soviet Newspapermen's Union weekly ZA RUBEZHOM (ABROAD) raised the question of the situation in the SKP in the issue that appeared on Friday. While no names are mentioned in the article, we can nevertheless see that it alludes to first secretary Arvo Aalto and former party chairman Aarne Saarinen.

The magazine was replying to a letter to the editor sent by Estonian N. Sarapuu in which the writer wonders what is behind the campaign the Finnish news media are at present conducting against the SKP.

According to the magazine, these past few years the bourgeois forces and their allies have been trying to convince the Communists that they can only preserve their power to influence affairs "by abandoning the class struggle and demonstrating their loyalty by entering into a historic Finnish compromise with the bourgeois." This, according to the magazine, is a typical "anticommunist strategy" which the bourgeois and conservative Social Democrats pursue.

They are simultaneously trying "to widen the split within the SKP and destroy SKP leaders' efforts to reintegrate the party," they say in the article.

According to ZA RUBEZHOM, they are trying to fan the fires of discord between the SKP and its allies and get the so-called socialists to be more active in the party than before, whereby the SKP would be incapable of using the real strength of the masses to its advantage.

According to the magazine, the European Economic Commission (EEC) is behind all this. The magazine goes on to say that "private newspapers, the reactionary party press, radio and television give a lot of space to those who have become entangled in the SKP effort to lay a foundation, even though they claim that they are fighting against dogmatism and for Marxist reforms."

The magazine meddles in SKP unification efforts saying that the latest party congresses and Central Committee meetings have clearly demonstrated a desire for unity.

Prelude

"This gives rise to unrest among SKP opponents and for that reason many ideologists have begun to speak of the radicalization of the party," the magazine goes on.

In the opinion of Finnish Communists in Moscow, the article is, all things considered, a sort of prelude to the SKP congress to be held this coming Pentecost.

Many of the issues raised in the article can be readily identified: First secretary Arvo Aalto has spoken of "a historic Finnish compromise" and former party chairman Aarne Saarinen has discussed the need for a "purge" mentioned in the article.

In Moscow they also feel that the article is a trial balloon, the reactions to which will be closely followed in Moscow. The next step will be the sending of a high-ranking delegation to Helsinki and, according to some sources of information, this may happen as early as March-April.

In the Soviet Union they clearly want to put an end to the disputes within the SKP that have lasted for over 15 years now and get the party under tougher leadership, under the leadership of the so-called minority Communists.

Chairman: End Public Wrangling

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 26 Feb 84 p 7

[Text] On Saturday SKP chairman Jouko Kajanoja criticized the violent settling of party leaders and members' differences in public.

Opening the first day of a 2-day party Central Committee plenary session, Kajanoja said that members of the party leadership can neither be forbidden to nor prevented from appearing in public.

"We must be able to require careful consideration on the part of members of the party leadership and the leadership of the whole People's Democratic movement in their public appearances, so that fuel may not constantly be supplied to damage the party effort," Kajanoja appealed to his listeners.

Trying to find a way out of the division into party factions, Kajanoja was of the opinion that the party's last chance to unite may be at the 20th congress to be held in May. If there is no breakthrough, Kajanoja felt, they will probably be facing an open split and a more violent clash than before.

The party and the Central Committee are so paralyzed that no decisions significant from the standpoint of party unity will be reached at the congress.

Among other items, the content of the press decision is being postponed until at least April for the Central Committee to consider. They intend to reach a final decision on the issue in May.

Conditions for Press Decision

Before the Central Committee Kajanoja made it clear under what conditions, in his opinion, the Central Committee is to reach a decision on the press in September. "The issue cannot really be narrowed down to just the termination of TIEDONANTAJA (the Stalinist organ); rather the merging of TIEDONANTAJA with YHTEISTYÖ is an indispensable part of the decision." He remarked that the press decision would require changes in the other papers too, KANSAN UUTISET included.

"But also conjectures to the effect that TIEDONANTAJA could continue to be published after the press decision are unfounded," Kajanoja reminded the Stalinists. The Stalinists have appealed on the basis of the fact that TIEDONANTAJA is a district paper which, according to the rules, has the right to be published in the eight Stalinist districts.

"With its national circulation organization and meetings, today's TIEDONANTAJA is no 'district paper' in the sense of the term we mean.... If this organization continues to exist, there will be no press decision," Kajanoja said. The SKP's traditional moderate majority stressed the same point.

Kajanoja advanced on the Stalinists emphasizing that "TIEDONANTAJA will not merge with anything" if the party does not reach agreement on a more unified political policy line, the changes in the other papers required by a press decision, an end to mutual parallel operations and "party leadership organs so composed that they will make implementation of such a policy line certain."

Kivimäki Along the Same Lines

Erkki Kivimäki, who stressed that the Central Committee press decision must be an integrated one, presented the Press Committee report along the same lines to the Central Committee. "This is the content and the logic of the Central Committee decision. To demand something else, to view the matter differently is not based on the Central Committee's decision."

Kivimäki estimated that the circulation of YHTEISTYÖ, which now appears as a weekly, is slightly less than 5,000. In May they intend to decide on changing it into a 4-day-a-week paper by merging it with TIEDONANTAJA. At the same time KANSAN UUTISET, for example, should "diversify" by appointing Stalinist editors to its staff.

Aalto Did Not Interfere

It is worth noting that moderate power figure first secretary Arvo Aalto did not interfere in the press issue when his turn to speak came.

However, Aalto giped Kajanoja, who had demanded that the SKP watch out for cabinet politics. In Kajanoja's opinion, the party will not seek a unified policy through agreements turned out in cabinets.

Aalto asked from which "cabinet politics" and "cabinets" the SKP had been driven out, because since it left the government the SKP has not negotiated or agreed on anything with the other parties.

Aalto indirectly assumed a position on the article that appeared on Friday in the Soviet Newspapermen's Union weekly, an article in which the SKP situation was appraised and the Stalinists and Kajanoja's position agreed with.

"'Historic compromise' has been turned into a cussword, a weapon to strike with. And there doesn't seem to be any shortage of people ready to use it to strike with.... Here's wishing you success in the enterprise!" Aalto said. In his speech the first secretary kept dodging the assumption of positions on the party congress.

Stalinist lead man Taisto Sinisalo was all the more energetic. His speech swarmed with charges that there was a "conservative-opportunist opposition" in the party, a hard line, and that there were "downright enemy agents" in the ranks of the party.

According to Sinisalo, for the party to found its own daily a change in the direction of unity and an improvement in YHTEISTYÖ's content and circulation will be required. He also presented his old demand that YHTEISTYÖ be raised to the status of chief party organ.

Sinisalo assured his listeners that the Stalinists are not trying to take over the party. But: "It is, of course, just as clear that these (Stalinist-controlled) district organizations will not allow the party to be subjected to the dictates and will of a conservative opposition that is leading it to destruction."

On Saturday chairman Kajanoja was still unwilling to comment on the Soviet magazine's appraisal of the SKP's state of affairs because he had not had an opportunity to familiarize himself with the entire text. He felt, however, that that brother party had the "inalienable right" to its opinion.

The Central Committee meeting will continue on Sunday when they intend to endorse positions on the international situation and domestic policy, among others, as well as on the youth issue. They will probably also adopt a position on the labor situation.

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CSO: 3617/99

FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISITS UNDERLINE NEW ATTENTION TO ASIA

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 17 Mar 84 p 10

[Commentary by Erkki Pennanen]

[Text] As evidence of Finland's awareness with respect to understanding the rapidly growing political and economic significance of Asia in the world Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen will leave on Sunday for the second time this year on a long trip around the Far East.

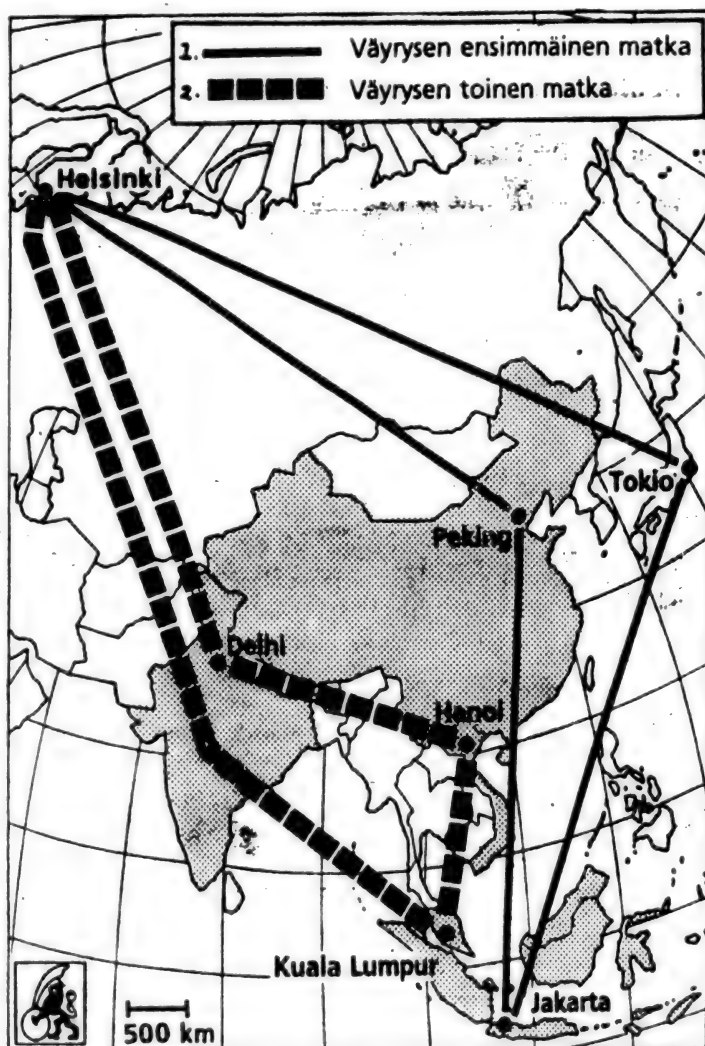
In January-February Vayrynen was Finland's first foreign minister to visit China and Indonesia as well as take a side trip to Japan also. This time India, Vietnam, and Malaysia are on the itinerary of a trip that will last a week and a half.

The expansion of foreign policy interests in Southeast Asia has been demanded, above all, by businessmen, who have been the first to understand the area's growing significance as an economic and in proportion to it political center of power.

Indeed, foreign trade and industry ministers have followed the businessmen on several visits to the most promising countries from the point of view of economic development and potential, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore. However this is not considered to be sufficient. A showing of the political flag, as a certain official of the Foreign Ministry describes the issue, is also a necessary condition for demonstrating the earnestness of one's interest.

Indonesia and Malaysia are typical examples of countries in which Finland's interest is, to the greatest degree, commercial and economic. Therefore, Indonesia was added to Vayrynen's China trip and Malaysia was added in connection with this upcoming trip. This time he will be accompanied by a delegation of industrial leaders, which will not visit Vietnam.

A political opening to Southeast Asia was considered possible only through China. Finland had lagged behind in the management of relations with China when Kekkonen was in office even though it was among the first countries to recognize the People's Republic of China in the early 1950's. The prime ministers of the other Nordic countries had already visited China, while not even one foreign minister had been there from Finland.



Tammi-helmikuussa Vayrynen kävi Kiinassa, Indonesiassa ja Japanissa. Nyt hän lähtee Intiaan, Vietnamiin ja Malesiaan.

Vayrynen visited China, Indonesia and Japan in January-February.
Now he will visit India, Vietnam, and Malaysia.

Key:

1. Vayrynen's first trip
2. Vayrynen's second trip

Even though Vayrynen's official visit in January had been "exceptionally successful", as is emphasized in the Foreign Ministry, the absence of early progress is still being felt. Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang, who is going to the Nordic countries next summer on an official visit, will not visit Finland.

Relations with Asia's other superpower, India, have been nurtured from the very beginning at the highest level. V. J. Sukselainen made an official visit

to India as prime minister already more than 20 years and President Urho Kekkonen made a state visit in 1965. However, the management of these relations was partially neglected in the 1970's.

India's ascent to the leadership of the nonaligned movement has once again aroused Finland's interest. When Prime Minister Indira Gandhi visited the Nordic countries last summer, it was considered important to invite her to Finland also even though President Mauno Koivisto's state visit to the Soviet Union very nearly caused insurmountable scheduling problems.

It was decided to celebrate Vayrynen's visit to India with the signing of a new cultural agreement in spite of the fact that in recent years there has been an attempt to limit such expensive cultural agreements to the most important countries.

Vietnam was placed on Vayrynen's itinerary for the reason that this country is one of Finland's most important targets of development aid cooperation. Vayrynen will officially dedicate the Pha Rung dry dock near Haiphong, for which Finland has had to cough up an additional 180 million markkaa above and beyond the 80 million markkaa originally estimated as the cost of this project. There is no end in sight to the expenditures since Finnish aid will also be needed for keeping the dock in operation. Also negotiations are being conducted on new projects.

Vayrynen is the first official of the Finnish Government to visit Vietnam, but he is still several years behind Sweden's foreign minister. Relations have been most actively pursued in the other direction. Prime Minister Pham Van Dong visited Finland in 1977 already and Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach visited Finland a couple years ago. He will now act as Vayrynen's host.

The sympathy enjoyed by Vietnam in the world in past years has diminished now that Vietnam has sent its own troops into Kampuchea and has refused to pull them back. Finland has abstained from voting against Vietnam in the UN appealing to the one-sidedness of the text of the resolution. However, it is doubtful that Vayrynen can avoid the question completely in Hanoi.

Malaysia was included in the itinerary at the last minute primarily at the request of business circles since there are many Finnish projects in that country. Malaysia, just as many other Southeast Asian states, is among those few countries enjoying rapid economic growth which would seem to offer promising investment opportunities for the industrialized countries. Therefore, the race to compete in this area is stiff and political efforts cannot be ignored.

It became clearly evident at a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Nordic countries held in Copenhagen this past week that the Nordic countries are mutual competitors in the markets of ASEA, an association of Southeast Asian countries. Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Elleman-Jensen will be following Vayrynen on an official visit. Also a visit to the area by Sweden's foreign minister is being planned.

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DEGREE, DIRECTION OF CHANGE UNDER KOIVISTO STILL DEBATED

Helsinki SUOMEN KUVALEHTI in Finnish 27 Jan 84 pp 27-29

[Commentary by Jukka Ukkola: "What Went Wrong?"]

[Text] Koivisto's people gaze in surprise at the elevated profile of their president, who has been in office for 2 years now, and ask whether he is turning into a distant, irritated and ill-tempered royal Kekkonen.

Three men are sitting around with just as many mugs of beer studying Urpo Leppanen's divorce in the newspaper.

"Koivisto sure was right when he said reporters were lemmings. Look now, there they are," one of them asserted.

"But he sure brought discredit on himself with this thing. He forbid them to talk. What really went wrong?" another one wondered.

"Yeah, that's what politicians feed on, being in the limelight. Like Virolainen. First, he had to go to the Liars Club and then to the Record Council. Next he'll probably be in Little Deuce," the third thought.

This conversation took place on a January afternoon in the Helsinki Airport restaurant, but these days you might hear it anywhere in Finland.

Koivisto's people are talking, even though they have not been asked to, except in a few polls. The pursed lips approach is in widespread use: "It seems to me that Koivisto...." Everyone has a firm opinion on issues and there are more people ready to explain things than ever before, when comment was still permitted.

The man in the street is conscious of his power. He elected Koivisto president and the SMP [Finnish Rural Party] into the government. He furthermore intends to elect the Greens into the municipal councils.

But: "What Went Wrong?"

That question is disturbing and unprecedented in Koivisto's Finland. Even in this three-man Gallup poll, two of them seem to be against the president.

It ought to be the other way around; the president recently obtained a rating of 68 percent in a popularity poll.

Opinions on the president's latest positions — and through them of the president himself — are split. For the first time in his career Koivisto too has acquired real and discourteous opponents.

This is a change from the way things were. There have been bristles in Koivisto's low profile before, but they usually merely increased support for him.

Love at First Sight

Mauno Koivisto was probably condemned to be the next president of Finland as early as the first few times he appeared before the people of Finland on the black-and-white screens of their television sets in the distant 1960's. He seemed to be such an ordinary-looking man, that is, an unusual politician, that ordinary people fell in love with him.

Between times he disappeared from day-to-day politics for a long time, but not far off, only in the rear of the Bank of Finland's courtyard. He remained in people's minds the whole time and in the forefront of the presidential game without apparently playing it himself.

Love at first sight has probably had a big influence on how people feel about Koivisto since then. They have accepted some things from him as they would a gift, things which from someone else might have angered them.

Since we have from time to time received all sorts of comments from Koivisto, his profile is by no means an innately low one.

From his prehistory let us remember that, as prime minister and director of the Bank of Finland, Koivisto promised the nation boundless howling and gnashing of teeth. And he said that in such a tortuous way, his big toe sticking out and his forelock in his eyes, that people received it as good news. "That Manu, he speaks right out on issues."

In his third term as prime minister he spoke the truth. Some people thought that Koivisto had been made prime minister to bring discredit on himself. Jealously, they mainly suspected Kalevi Sorsa and Paavo Vayrynen of being guilty, who they believed were trying to get someone other than Koivisto elected president.

"Now the political players are trying to trip up our Manu." But they had faith that Koivisto would not stumble.

They were perhaps, nevertheless, somewhat apprehensive as to whether he could pull it off after all, since he is such a nice guy — a bit like the suspense one feels at a school spring festival, as to whether one's dear child who is to recite will remember all the words of the poem.

He remembered and he could do it. He began, or they began to market a low profile for him. The government quietly pursued a policy of "let's see now," although at times they did grumble "we ought to do something about it." There were no very unpleasant duties. Everything clumped along by itself in some direction or other; politics seemed to be a matter of being capable of fashionably polite cooperation.

The Man Who Opposed Kekkonen

Then his profile got so low that people began to say that he was hesitant. Up until then Kekkonen and Koivisto had not collided with one another, but now they did. Kekkonen — or some people on his behalf — criticized Koivisto's profile and demanded action.

One of the obligatory patterns should be to obey the president: Either air the matter publicly at once or bring the government down on the spot.

But Kekkonen's growling was still only harping on the same thing, an exclamation point without any sequel, although many did not perhaps yet realize that that is what it was — after all Kekkonen was still formally president and there was no public doubt about the state of his health.

Either Koivisto realized this or he did not — at any rate, he opposed him. He rather bluntly announced that presidents do not give him orders, only the Parliament elected by the people.

That settled the matter. At last someone had been found who dared to stand up to Kekkonen. During the same scuffle the KEPU [Center Party] — especially Paavo Vayrynen and through him Ahti Karjalainen — received a new brand on its forehead.

Koivisto automatically shifted to a prepresidential relationship with the people when President Kekkonen fell ill.

Official Profile

The presidential election campaign was engaged in but, after everything that had happened, it was rather hopeless for anyone but Koivisto. Everyone spoke mainly of fence stakes and ax handles — Koivisto too, who deferred the responsibility to explain his vague Bernstein-like manner to the big Otava encyclopedia.

Koivisto was elected with cheers and he continued to govern with an officially low profile. Why should he have changed that — while in some quarters doubt had been cast on the change of presidents, now things had to be regarded as if there had never been any doubt.

Really even then, however, Koivisto let it be understood why he surprises people. On election night he made his farewells to the press. That meant that he never again really intended to comment on affairs.

This was not taken seriously either. They thought that, once he had won the election, all sorts of things would be discussed.

Now they were on vacation. In place of a stern father they had gotten an easygoing fellow. It seemed they could now speak and talk and write and sing and dance.

And they could. The honeymoon lasted nearly 2 years, up until last fall. It involved a lot of fine and uplifting things. Even those who had opposed him as a candidate supported him as president. People even began to talk of pink industrial barons, although a conspicuous number of industrial leaders had made the mistake of backing Karjalainen, closely associated with the Soviet trade, during the election campaign.

His popularity did not diminish because of a few things that coming from someone else would have been construed as extremely bad manners. Men occupying top positions left like Leppanen. Kaarlo Pitsinki from Uusimaa, Ahti Karjalainen from the Economic Commission and many others from Parliament. New ones replaced them: Kai Korte as attorney general, the SMP in the government, Sorsa in the Economic Commission and many in other positions. Naturally, nowhere near all are ascribable to the president but, if we wanted to make accusations, we might say that it was because of him.

Prize-Winning Foreign Policy

The great agreement on his foreign policy has had an effect on the size of the president's support. Koivisto has indeed earned noteworthy testimonials. He has visited countries important from Finland's standpoint even more frequently than his predecessor and gotten what he was looking for.

All along the Soviet Union has stressed the fact that it believes in the continuation of the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line, that is, it has demonstrated its confidence in the fact that Finland's policy does not depend on one man. On his birthday Mauno Koivisto received -- at a significantly early point in his presidential career -- the Order of Lenin, although potshots at him have also been in evidence, for example, the name he was called in Yuriy Komissarov's position paper on cruise missiles.

In the most things have gone well. Koivisto left for the United States to obtain post-Kekkonen-era recognition of Finland's neutrality as well and got it as a shelf item.

During the trip to America and very soon thereafter, Koivisto started to change from being a popular favorite to a national hero. During his trip every snap of a twig was followed almost hysterically and his 60th birthday, just under 2 years after assuming power, was celebrated almost as ostentatiously as his predecessor's 80th birthday 24 years after Kekkonen assumed power.

A New Kekkonen?

Even to Koivisto himself it seems that Kekkonen's traits have suddenly appeared in him. Perhaps he felt that his apprenticeship ended and the time to prove his skills as a master had come. Or he was fed up with playing the fool.

In a short period of time he has frequently begun to shoot for a higher profile instead of the low one. On his birthday he said that he viewed anyone who rocks the boat askance.

Only a few months before people laughed aloud when the president — a sociologist who had defended his thesis in sociology — called sociologists fortune-tellers.

"Well said," many said, rubbing their hands in glee, when the president said that editors were soup cooks.

The smiles only began to freeze when on his birthday the president accused his accusers of making too many accusations. Then people began to wonder. Things sounded as though Koivisto wanted to softpedal sacred investigations of economic crimes, to protect the offenders. Furthermore, Interior Minister Matti Luttinen later supported him, calling police actions illegal.

Koivisto also sent chief editors a letter which was, of course, leaked to the public via Sweden. The Finnish recipients quite understood the president. "The president was merely exercising his right to speak," the newspapers wrote. "I was merely exercising my right to speak," the president echoed the next day, when the papers appeared on the streets.

Shortly thereafter, he granted an interview in which he charged journalists with being lemmings: One of them invents an idea and then the other repeat it. At the same time he refused to provide an explanation, either by himself or others.

At that point the newspapers wondered and commented as one voice. Several former opponents of Koivisto experienced a downright revival. For a long time, embittered, they had to follow Koivisto's course of victory, but finally wound up remembering "what I said."

Because the general public reads the newspapers more than, for example, the president's statements some people began to wonder and remember the past.

What can we think, since presidents' birthdays are big celebrations, when the president sends letters to chief editors, when he vents his anger on journalists and speaks cuttingly of the justice establishment?

The man in the street sees a reborn Kekkonen in the Koivisto of today. Maybe that is what we need. If the royal Kekkonen we have elected does not behave like a royal Kekkonen, we will make him behave like one.

It is nowhere officially stated that people have to hit the ceiling because of the president's speeches and that the press ought to react to letters from the president or to his statements any differently than to other letters and statements.

But here — and among our neighboring Nordic countries — we hit the ceiling because of old memories. The actions of Finland's president are always tabu: a letter is a directive, a speech is a battering.

If Koivisto had started from zero, if he were Finland's first president, he would be treated and understood differently than he is now. But he started after 26 years of Kekkonen. His actions are compared with Kekkonen's actions and they are viewed in the same way.

So here we are now celebrating the second anniversary of Koivisto's official term as president and growing apart. The 2-year honeymoon seems to be ending and now we are wondering what went wrong.

11,466
CSO: 3617/104

SKDL LEADER CONTEMPLATING RESIGNATION

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 15 Mar 84 p 13

[Article: "Kivisto Fed Up With Today's Politics"]

[Text] SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] Chairman Kalevi Kivisto says that he is fed up with politics. He intends to resign from his position and leave all politics behind as soon as the opportunity presents itself.

In a statement made to the Center Party's Uutiskeskus [News Center] Kivisto stated that he is ready to "bury politics" as soon as he finds an opportunity to make the move to another job. Kivisto considers a return to a university career as the most probable choice.

Kivisto's name has also been mentioned in connection with a governorship, possibly as governor of the province of Keski-Suomi after Kauko Sipponen (Center Party) becomes the managing director of EVA [Commission on Commerce and Industry] in the fall. According to Uutiskeskus, Kivisto does not completely deny any interest in the governor's post, but he considers his chances to be slight.

Kivisto has been in parliament since 1972 first from the election district of the province of Keski-Suomi and since the spring of 1983 from the election district of Helsinki. Before he became a member of parliament he was an instructor of educational sociology in the department of education at Jyvaskila University as well as an assistant professor of educational planning. He holds a licentiate degree in political science.

Kivisto, 42, has been chairman of the cooperative league of Communists and People's Democrats since 1979. He was an education minister in the government until the SKDL resigned from Kalevi Sorsa's government in 1982.

In the last presidential elections Kivisto became the SKDL's presidential candidate. He has continuously been a popular politician in the opinion polls. Kivisto has consistently supported the participation of the SKDL in government cooperation, for which he has been subjected to increasing criticism by the SKP [Finnish Communist Party] Taistoite [Stalinist] faction, in particular.

10576

CSO: 3617/109

LINE UP OF FACTIONS' FORCES FOR CP CONGRESS ALREADY CLEAR

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 14 Mar 84 p 12

[Article by Janne Virkkunen: "Division Guarantees Certain Result in FCP"]

[Text] In a voting process that will last 3 weeks the membership of the Finnish Communist Party (SKP) is now electing representatives to its intently awaited 20th Congress, which will be held in Helsinki at the end of May.

The voting will conclude on 1 April, but it is already clear that 196 majority and 151 minority Communist representatives will attend the congress. The final result of the elections is guaranteed by the SKP's iron hard organization, which does not permit any deviations.

The internal division of the SKP has become ossified so that the majority has nine district organizations under its control and the minority has eight. It has been this way since the end of the 1960's.

The SKP's internal power relationships were not even undermined by the fact that the renewal of the party's membership books a little less than a year ago eliminated nearly 20,000 Communists from the SKP. The reduction took place "appropriately" on both sides.

The election ballot, from which one can see who will be elected and who will not be elected, is decisive in the SKP's unique membership vote. To be absolutely sure, the leadership of the districts even makes an election recommendation, which is published in the party's newspapers.

Those Communists whose election the district leadership supports are grouped on the left-hand side of the election ballot. The minority's candidates and other possible aspirants, as has now occurred in Helsinki, for example, are listed on the right-hand side.

The actual voting takes place by drawing a continuous line along the names of majority or minority candidates. Thirty-centimeter long Chinese rulers left over from a SKP lottery several years ago are used for drawing the line.

In principle, the only thing that could change the final result of the membership vote would be an unexpected death. Taistoite Esko-Juhani Tennila

was elected to the congress in this way a couple years ago. His election was the result of the death of a certain majority Communist in the period intervening between the conclusion of the voting and the commencement of the congress.

District Also Influences Nomination of Candidates

Thus the voting itself in the SKP is not interesting, but the manner in which the list of candidates is approved by the district leadership is interesting. In the SKP party sections nominate candidates to the congress, but the district leadership influences the course of events even in this phase already.

In the first place the district leadership regulates the placement of new members in party sections. The district's internal control is thus made possible or it ensures that a "sufficiently trustworthy" majority is placed in the proper party sections. The district leadership also has the right to veto a request to change party sections.

The railroading of issues is characteristic of the Helsinki District, in which the district leadership no longer had any confidence in former SKP Politburo members Anna-Liisa Hyvonen, Erkki Kivimaki, and Erkki Rautee.

Hyvonen is an assistant city manager, Kivimaki is the general secretary of the Finland-USSR Society, and Rautee is party education secretary. The three were suspected of giving excessive support to Chairman Jouko Kajanoja.

Thus the majority of the sections faithful to the district leadership prevented these three individuals from being nominated as candidates. Correspondingly, the Taistoite District Secretary Markus Kainulainen of the Uusimaa District dropped Aulikki Oksanen, who composed TIEDONANTAJA's song, from the list approved by the district leadership.

In this way there is created a situation in which the number of Communists faithful to the district leadership is that very number in the membership vote which is elected to the congress from the district.

The remaining candidates are situated on the right-hand side of the ballot either in order or randomly as has occurred in Helsinki. The Taistoites or Communists judged to be unreliable from the point of view of the district leadership are placed in a random order. Among them, for example, being Pertti Kadenius, chief shop steward at Wartsila's Helsinki Shipyard.

Communists voting for "unreliable" majority candidates must then find their own candidates from among the Taistoites. The SKP's Helsinki District wanted to prevent this situation and thus it urged the "unreliables" to withdraw their candidacy, but the appeal did not produce any results.

Course of Elections Is Known

However, this issue is of no significance from the point of view of the final result. The SKP's Helsinki District Organizational Secretary Kari Koistinen

stated already on Tuesday that the voting to date indicates that those 40 candidates recommended by the district committee after "serious deliberation" will be elected from the election ballot. Among them there happens to be 15 of the 20 members of the district committee.

How did Koistinen already know what the outcome will be? The voting will not conclude until 1 April. The explanation is, however, simple.

According to the election system in use in the SKP, after each poll closes the election committee counts the votes and sends the results to the district. There may be several opportunities for voting in the same party section.

The system guarantees that the district leadership will know the election results of its sections on any particular day or how the final voting result is shaping up throughout the whole 3-week voting period. If it becomes necessary, the proper measures may then be taken.

Those Who Are Not Doing Well Receive Help

It is no secret that for the sake of certainty the district leadership has in its back pocket means by which a sufficient majority is guaranteed on the list approved by the district leadership. The SKP uses a majority election system according to which representatives are elected to the party congress in a system corresponding to the number of votes.

If the party vote threatens to go out of control, the party leadership can quickly restore party sections that are not doing well and fill the polls with its own supporters.

Sometimes other measures are used also. It is said that District Secretary Markus Kainulainen once slipped in the name of a minority candidate among the majority candidates on the election ballot in Uusimaa. This was not noticed by all the majority members and thus in drawing the line they inadvertently voted for too many candidates. The election ballots had to be invalidated.

Majority's Problem Areas

In the Communist Party the same procedures are in use in areas controlled by the majority as well as the minority. However, in certain districts the SKP majority is showing signs of dissension. In addition to Helsinki, such districts are Satakunta, Keski-Suomi, Oulu, and Kainuu, among others.

However, it is doubtful that these districts will change the final result and the kind of decisions the new majority grouping will be able to make will not be determined until the party congress.

10576

CSO: 3617/109

SORSA ON GREENS' THREAT, NUCLEAR PLANT PLANS, ECONOMY

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 20 Feb 84 p 3

[Article: "Kalevi Sorsa: SDP Heavyweight Champion of Finnish Politics"]

[Text] Kalevi Sorsa, chairman of the SDP [Social Democratic Party] and prime minister, in an interview Sunday with the HELSINGIN SANOMAT, has proclaimed his party and its principles to be the heavyweight champion of politics in Finland.

"If a slender ringside spectator (the Greens) is put into the ring as a challenger, the match is not quite fair. It raises the delicate type unnecessarily high, and sympathies of course go to him," Sorsa observes about the Greens.

"The Greens aren't really even a party. They are not a comprehensive social movement, like parties are. It is quite natural that they have not organized into a party, because they have no idea what they are striving for," says the prime minister, who is piloting an updating of the SDP's program. According to the HELSINGIN SANOMAT, the group working on principles has raised Christian ethics and general humanism to the level of basic principles alongside Marx.

On the other hand, the prime minister and chairman does not give a very clear picture of his own intentions. On the contrary, it is useless in his opinion to present any model of a ready-made utopian society. "I have been a follower of Bernstein ever since sometime in the 1950's I understood that there cannot be any final ideal society," says Sorsa, who leads the heavyweight champions of politics.

He admits that politics has become bureaucratized, so that under the pressure of reality there is not much room for imagination.

"Happiness is one thing that does not belong to the realm of politics," says Sorsa in defining the relationship between people and politics.

Difficult Nuclear Power Plant

In order to be the leader of a comprehensive political movement, Sorsa leaves open or unanswered many questions during the interview. According to him, a fifth nuclear power plant is a difficult question for himself and for the party. Sorsa is chairman of the Finnish-Soviet Economic Commission.

He also questions whether it is worthwhile to sell shares in state enterprises to individuals, if they are so valuable. He sees as a positive feature in the matter the fact that state enterprises could receive foreign capital for their needs more reasonably than by borrowing.

As prime minister and chairman he reveals that he has to put up with a deterioration of the party's profile resulting from its position as a government party and the conflicts that arise therefrom.

"If economic life could be totally directed by the state, decisions would be made in the final analysis around some official table. It has not been at all demonstrated that an official would make better decisions from the point of view of society than a private businessman would make. The development of the economy, just like that of any other activity is very much involved with having energetic, gifted people who are ready to take personal risks in order to see their aspirations, inventions and innovations realized," says Sorsa.

9611

CSO: 3617/107

LIBERALS TO REEXAMINE STAND ON NATO IN NEW PARTY PLATFORM

Emphasis on 'Green' Issues

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 10 Mar 84 p 3

[Article by Morten M. Mo: "The Liberal Party Becomes 'Principled'"]

[Text] The hundred-years old Liberal Party is examining its political heritage with the objective of making its message up-to-date. The party's new statement of principles is ready for final consideration at its national convention in Alesund in a couple of weeks. The ideological slogans are: independence from special interests, transfer of more power to the popularly elected forums, decentralization, more freedom in community. And in addition, the Liberal Party will stop playing the role of the "worry party" in Norwegian politics.

The Liberal Party undoubtedly needs a new party platform since the last one was formulated at the Roros national convention in 1972 when the party 'split' in two over the European Community issue. The hundred years' anniversary will thus be celebrated by preparing an ideological instrument in which the party's inheritance will be polished up and adapted to the world today, as the Liberal Party see it.

According to Helge Hveem, who has been the chairman of the platform committee, the Liberal Party will continue to build on the concepts of social liberalism, which will be expanded as the party did in the 1970s. Social liberalism stands up for the right of the individual to liberty but without harming others.

[Question] That sounds like the Liberal Party's version of the cardemum law?

[Answer] "Well, that law is actually not bad, but we believe that the individual should have the freedom to develop but with consideration to others. Freedom for the individual, responsibility towards others, if you will."

The Liberals want to end the power relationship which exists today between the government administration and the large interests' organizations. The Storting will have a greater say but it will itself have to stop passing laws delegating so much authority. The increased emphasis on democracy will have a local breakthrough, and the Liberals also want to use plebescites locally and nationally to solve conflicts.

Hveem says the Liberals welcome new technology, and he believes that the party should exhibit in this regard optimism and not concern. The new technology will further decentralization and in particular help small businesses and local administration. The public sector should, however, direct the technological development so that it does not create greater social inequality and threaten personal integrity.

"Protection of the environment, ecology, fight against the waste of resources and against hydroelectric expansion. These will continue to be central features of Liberal Party policies," Hveem states. He also believes that politics will more and more be a struggle about values and attitudes, not practical solutions to individual problems.

The Liberal Party in principle wants to cooperate with other parties but not with the Progressive Party.

"Their idea of liberty is not ours. Their liberty is for the few, our freedom is for the many," Hveem says. Protecting the welfare state and continued high public consumption will remain the priorities of the Liberal Party.

"But instead of forcing more bureaucracy down on the heads of the people, we will work to promote support for furthering the common good voluntarily. That can be done, for example, through the contributions of voluntary organizations.

"It is our strong involvement in decentralization and in the effort for greater democracy that clearly differentiates the Liberals from other parties. Our view in regard to private initiative is not negative. We want to increase the ability of business firms to modernize themselves and increase their profitability, but we do not desire a system which creates taxpayers who pay no income tax due to deductions exceeding gross earnings." Hveem says that the Liberal Party in its statement of principles favors the so-called gross tax system.

[Question] What is the clearest distinction between the Liberal Party and the Labor Party and the Left-Socialist Party?

[Answer] "It is that we reject the belief of the two parties that every new task should be solved by governmental action."

[Question] Is the Liberal Party united in regard to Norway's association with NATO?

[Answer] "We in the platform believe that the Liberal Party wants to strive for decreasing the reliance upon nuclear strategy and rather to emphasize conventional defense within the framework of NATO. The NATO tie created dissent in the national executive committee," Hveem says.

The statement of principles gives a green light to so-called "sound playbills" in local broadcasting, but a minority desires advertising in either media involving the whole country. There is also disagreement in the Liberal Party whether to favor shorter working hours or a lowered pension age--or if such a preference should not be made.

Labor Party Electoral Alliance Rejected

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 25 Feb 84 p 3

[Text] The Liberal Party has made it clear that it can not contemplate an electoral alliance with the Labor Party in the parliamentary election next year. The reason given is that it does not want a two-part division in Norwegian politics. The party believes that it can in this way be conducive in getting the Labor Party to accept equalization mandates. In response Gro Harlem Brundtland [Chairman of the Labor Party] stated that she is satisfied with the present election arrangement.

6893

CSO: 3639/87

PSOE'S URRALBURU ON NAVARRA GOVERNMENT PROGRAM

Guipuzcoa EGIN in Spanish 2 Mar 84 p 7

[Text] "When it is a matter of preparing the laws required for the construction and consolidation of a community, the party's legitimate interests must be set aside and we must do everything possible to arrange an extensive political accord, so that the basic laws of our community will not stem from a circumstantial majority, but rather will have the guarantee of stability represented by the fact that they have been the result of a consensus." This comment was made yesterday by the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] candidate for the presidency of the government of Navarra, Gabriel Urralburu, in his investiture speech which lasted 2 hours and 20 minutes.

In his address, Urralburu stressed the economic issue, to which he devoted nearly half of his speech, as well as problems of a social nature.

The section on autonomous development (transfers, improvement), and that relating to the economic agreement, were, however, treated far more briefly; and the candidate underscored the need for agreement on these matters among all the parties with parliamentary representation. As for the relations between Navarra and the Basque Autonomous Community, the candidate expressed approval for the establishment of accords or agreements to deal with issues of mutual concern.

Pamplona (EGIN)--Urralburu opened his address by stating that his government program contains sufficient elements for making an integrating policy, the goals of which would be "the defense of our statutory system, cooperation with the autonomous communities and the necessary and very much desired strengthening of our bonds of unity and solidarity with Spain."

He added: "All Navarrans should feel comfortably identified under our institutional system; all except those who choose the path of violence. We must tell that minority of fanatics that they do not fit among us. They must realize that we shall not accept any prerequisite for peace." On this occasion Urralburu voiced his condemnation for the two attacks which occurred yesterday in Vitoria and Hendaya.

Up To 25 Billion in Public Investment

The Socialist candidate noted that his plan of action in the economic area is based on the promotion of productive investment and on backing for economic streamlining, in both the public and the private sectors. In the first of these areas, Urralburu stated that, in the public sector, there will have to be incentives and supplements for private investment that will generate a larger number of jobs, without overlooking the investment aimed at renovating and modernizing the productive apparatus. He also remarked that the public investment during the past 3 years will not exceed the sum of 25 billion pesetas.

Insofar as the debts that many business firms have with the Statutory Treasury are concerned, Urralburu said that, rejecting any temptation to condone such debts, the amount of which exceeds 20 billion pesetas, "I am in favor of opening negotiations with the businessmen in each sector, for the purpose of proposing to the government of Navarra and, if need be, to this Parliament, the administrative and legislative measures that would make it possible to pay these debts without prompting the closing of business firms on this account."

Urralburu expressed approval for not causing a heightening the tax pressure more than a point each year, in relation to the GDP. Nevertheless, he voiced his solemn commitment to stabilize the tax on associations, improving the tax incentives for investment.

There Will Not Be Greater Tax Pressure on Business Firms

He also remarked that he intends to submit a bill in 1985 aimed at eliminating the exemption currently stipulated for the tax on inheritances conveyed in a direct line and between spouses. In addition, he confirmed the fact that he would never foster an increase in the tax pressure on business firms, noting that more effective action would be taken against tax fraud. In the budget area, the candidate called for a clearcut policy of austerity.

In industrial policy, Urralburu favored technological innovation for the sector, reindustrialization (with special emphasis on the agricultural and food sector) and energy savings. He declared that funds amounting to no less than 20 billion pesetas would be allocated for this industrial plan during the years 1984, 1985, 1986 and 1987.

No Mention of the Freeway

In the area of sectorial activity, the candidate observed that Navarra does not have good communications with the outside, and called for priority investment in the routes that would ensure better interregional communication; although he never referred to the freeway. As for the systems of a secondary nature, he said that a policy of austere maintenance would be carried out.

With respect to the social realm and, specifically, that associated with health, Urralburu claimed that he intends to negotiate, first with the state, for the

transfer of health services of an assistance type, leaving until later the negotiation of the transfer of the activity of INSALUD [Institute of Health], which nevertheless should be done during the current legislature.

Legislative Progress in the Improvement

With regard to the final point in his address, Urralburu discussed the institutional development of Navarra and on this topic stated that the government which he wants to form would send to the Parliament during this legislature drafts of a statutory law relating to the following subjects: determination of Basque-speaking zones, official use of Euskara [Basque language] and regulations for teaching in this language; elections to the Parliament of Navarra; local administration; municipal legislative proposal; popular legislative proposal; assets of Navarra and the administration, defense and conservation thereof; and reform of the compilation of the statutory civil law.

Urralburu declared: "The institutional nature of these statutory laws, and the fact that an absolute majority is required for their passage, advise that their texts should be the result of an accord among all the political forces represented in this Parliament. Therefore, I announce on this occasion my desire for dialog and negotiation, and I also express my wish to incorporate this process into the Basque National Party, even though this party did not give its approval for the improvement at the time."

The candidate added: "This wish to establish an extensive political accord does not prevent me from citing on this occasion the date for sending the pertinent drafts of the statutory law to this chamber; but I reiterate my conviction that the process should be completed in this legislature."

Transfers and Economic Agreement

The candidate also claimed that he would favor the participation of all the political forces represented in Parliament in the process of transfers and in the negotiation of the economic agreement. In the first instance, he said that, although it is impossible to set timetables, a determination could be made of the methodology, noting in this regard that, "Before the transfer of the concrete state services to Navarra begins, there will have to be approval for a framework accord wherein the bases for the entire process are established, generally regulating the system for the personnel and assets to be transferred, as well as the evaluation of the pertinent services, and the effects of this evaluation on Navarra's contributions to the general state levies."

Insofar as the economic agreement is concerned, he remarked: "I have repeatedly proclaimed my firm intention of fulfilling our desire for solidarity with Spain and its needs. But, with the same degree of forcefulness, I must state immediately to your excellencies that no solidarity can lead us to our own destruction."

Finally, Urralburu came out in favor of resolving the conflicts that might arise with the state through the Board of Cooperation; and, as for the

relations with the Basque Autonomous Community, "with which a considerable portion of our people feels especially linked," he said: "The Government that I propose to form will not back any initiative aimed at integration (...); but this does not preclude the possibility, within the context of this desire for cooperation which dominates the improvement," that both communities might establish accords and agreements to resolve issues of mutual concern.

2909

CSO: 3548/204

FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON RELATIONS WITH USSR

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 17 Mar 84 p 6

[Article by Sven Svensson: "'Sweden's Border Sacred'"]

[Text] Sweden's borders are sacred. This was something Ambassador Bernt Carlsson stressed on Friday when he spoke to the Swedish-Soviet Friendship Society. The society celebrated the 60th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Sweden and the Soviet Union.

Bernt Carlsson appeared as the representative of the Foreign Ministry at the anniversary celebration. First he spoke about trade cooperation, and then he emphasized that since the end of the 1950's a development of the relations has taken place.

"Despite certain difficulties, differences of opinion and disputes the Swedish government has sought increased contacts and exchanges of visits at the official level," Bernt Carlsson said.

Sweden has observed the development in the Soviet Union with the greatest interest. Although by no means we could agree with everything, we have sought to try to understand the social reorganization process in the Soviet Union.

The neighboring relationship necessitates the attempts to have good relations. Both we and the Soviet Union are of course aware of the fact that the relations have not always been without friction. This applies in particular to the last few years.

The hopes of the Swedish government are, however, that good and stable relations will be developed on the basis of mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

11949

CSO: 3650/153

MODERATE PARTY LEADER ADELSON: WRONG SIGNALS SENT TO USSR

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 17 Mar 84 p 6

[Article by Kaa Eneberg and Sven Svensson: "Adelson Critical After Submarine Hunt: Wrong Signals to the Soviet Union"]

[Text] The Palme government should not invite any Soviet ministers to Sweden as long as the violations of Swedish waters continue. Also, the Swedish parliament with speaker Ingemund Bengtsson at the head should not accept the Soviet invitation to visit Moscow in the fall.

Relations with the Soviet Union can be normalized only after a considerable time has passed without submarine violations, and after Sweden has clarified what is going on in the Karlskrona archipelago.

This was what Conservative Party leader Ulf Adelson said to DAGENS NYHETER.

He is critical of the fact that, in his view, the Palme government continues to send the wrong signals about relations with Sweden to the leaders in the Kremlin.

"One of these wrong signals is to allow the head of the Foreign Ministry's political department, Jan Eliasson, to travel to Moscow in the middle of a raging submarine hunt in the Karlskrona archipelago."

Another wrong signal is to invite the Soviet minister of agriculture to Sweden, which the government recently did.

"It is wrong to normalize relations in this situation, for we must not accept what is going on."

Ulf Adelson says he notes with great interest that in its articles prompted by the 60th anniversary of relations between the two countries the Soviet press gives Olof Palme "notable praise." At the same time one denounces the "rightist forces" which cause the discord between the USSR and Sweden.

Just what all this praise might mean for Sweden, Ulf Adelson leaves for the Kremlinologists to judge.

He himself draws the conclusion that these incorrect signals are being misinterpreted not only in the Soviet Union but in the United States as well. Furthermore, they create suspicion among Swedes.

"The dangerous part of this policy is precisely that the major powers evaluate our actions very carefully."

In the Kremlin, for example, it is easy to draw the conclusion that the Swedish government still is not taking the violations of Swedish waters very seriously. At the same time as we are hunting submarines, suspected of being Soviet, we are prepared to resume the exchange of ministers with the Soviet Union.

"The Kremlin might then draw the conclusion, that friendly relations with the Soviet Union are more important to Sweden than showing that the violations are unacceptable."

Many Are Suspicious

"The fact that Sweden, which usually has opinions on every international issue, has not brought up the violations in the United Nations or at the security conference in Madrid, must be interpreted in the same manner."

The policies of the Palme government have caused suspicion in the United States as well.

"In the United States I encountered the question of whether Palme has let Russian submarines go. I am not saying that this is the official U. S. standpoint, but there is that suspicion by the other major power. I myself have categorically denied this and told everyone that it is absolutely wrong."

"But one cannot avoid that this is a common opinion, here at home as well. Many are suspicious and believe that there is an implied order to the military 'not to get really serious.'"

"As long as there are suspicions that a schism exists between the government and the military leadership, it is possible to draw the conclusion that the Palme government cannot have acted with the consistency which would have allayed these suspicions."

Ulf Adelsohn is of the opinion that "there is notably great suspicion in our country against the prime minister personally."

He says that he himself is not seeking a quarrel with Olof Palme either over security policy or over other political issues. He jokes about Social Democratic assertions that he should be suffering from "Russo-hostility," some kind of "Charles XII complex." He denies the statement with obvious acidity.

Regarding his position on the Soviet Union, he says that he would not mind seeing the new head of the government Konstantin Chernenko in Sweden, but only

on condition that the submarine violations cease and the Soviet Union shows that it respects our neutrality.

Then even Ulf Adelsohn would willingly go on his first trip to the Soviet Union. Two weeks ago he met personally with Soviet Ambassador Boris Pankin. The conversation lasted one hour and took place on Soviet initiative. Adelsohn himself does not mention this conversation spontaneously.

He speaks ironically about the frequent assurances Sweden has received during the last year from the Soviet Union about respecting Sweden's status. He calls attention to the fact that Foreign Minister Gromyko gave such an assurance in connection with the opening of the Stockholm security conference.

"This is exactly how major powers behave. The only time I can remember a major power admitting a violation was in connection with shooting down the U. S. U-2 spy plane over the Soviet Union in the 1960's."

Adelsohn insists that the Conservatives have held their position on the Soviet Union ever since World War II. Among the Social Democrats, on the other hand, there is a tendency toward "wishful thinking" regarding the development there.

Natural to Suspect the USSR

Concerning the reliability of the USSR as a cooperation partner, he replies with evident caution:

"Sweden is a small country, and we form our foreign and security policies according to our national interests. We must be aware that the Soviets do too. This means that the Soviet national interests appear most important to them."

"It means that they take obvious foreign political risks, or let me say burdens, such as for example their policies in Poland, Hungary and in Czechoslovakia. Because to them, their national interest is more important in every situation. This must be clear to everyone."

It is now important to concentrate heavily on our own immediate area in security and foreign policy, Adelsohn says.

"We must become more watchful. There is no reason in today's situation to be as cautious as the government is."

Adelsohn calls for "somewhat less meddlesomeness when it comes to solving all other problems."

"It ought to be clear by now even to the prime minister, that solving all the global problems is not quite that easy. He is so transparently cautious when it concerns our own problems."

Not even Ulf Adelsohn is 100 % certain of the mystery in Karlskrona. The fact that there is proof of two Soviet submarine violations--in Gasefjarden and Harsfjarden--justifies the suspicion that the intruder came from the Soviet Union this time as well.

Adelsohn is referring to a presentation by the Chief of the Defense Staff Bror Stefenson, who demonstrated an indication of some kind of foreign underwater activity.

"It is natural that the suspicions are directed toward the power which twice violated our territory. That is all one can say."

Regarding how to handle the situation politically, Adelsohn says that "it is obviously impossible to protest when the nationality has not been determined."

He says that violations by other powers cannot be excluded, and no one can be accused without proof. He also adds that his own suspicions "against the other power are not great."

Adelsohn emphasizes that the hunt at Karlskrona must not be allowed to peter out. If "by any chance nothing is found," Adelsohn is of the opinion that the course of events must be analyzed by the parliamentary commission which studied the Harsfjarden events.

National Unity Important

He stresses the necessity of national unity around the defense policy. It was these demands which brought the parties together to settle the defense budget this week.

The Conservative Party had to make concessions regarding funds for the defense.

"But we got enough, at least, to be able to resolve the acute problems."

The agreement was significant as a demonstration of national unity.

"It was an important signal domestically and abroad, that we who quarrel about anything and everything were able to agree," he laughs.

The party leaders were negotiating under the pressure of time--in order to come up with a government bill. Success came after several collapses and failures. Adelsohn compares negotiating defense costs and wages to seducing a woman.

"It's like when you have been trying to seduce a woman and you finally see some chances. Then you don't get up and go home."

11949

CSO: 3650-153

PALME IN PRESS CONFERENCE SAYS WANTS 'CORRECT' USSR TIES

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 17 Mar 84 p 6

[Article by Ake Ekdahl: "Palme on USSR: 'We Want Correct Relations'"]

[Text] Karlstad, Friday--"We are sending completely correct diplomatic signals to the Russians that we want correct relations and that we do not tolerate that any nation violates Swedish territory." This is what Prime Minister Olof Palme said at a press conference in Karlstad on Friday.

He further said that a gradual thaw is taking place in the relations between Sweden and the Soviet Union. To the question of how far this thaw has progressed today after the Soviet Hansfjarden violations and submarine 137, Palme replied:

"Today we are very worried by the events in Karlskrona, which we regard as a serious situation and which we follow with the greatest attention."

When Conservative leader Ulf Adelsohn says that the Swedish government has given the wrong signals to the Soviet Union, Palme replies that the Conservative leader has the wrong idea:

"He asserts that these are Russian submarines without being able to submit any proof. Naturally, the accused power demands proof. Adelsohn also cannot show any evidence that foreign soldiers are walking around on Swedish soil or that Swedish soldiers are involved in battle--with whom, I ask."

"A minor short has developed in Adelsohn's signal system," Palme said.

It is important to the Swedish people that the highest leadership in the country should send signals of calm and resolve and not try to stir up a disturbing mood.

"The Karlskrona incident gives no indication that we should aim accusations toward the Soviet Union, and then we also should not do so."

Strain

The previous submarine incidents have been a difficult strain on our relations, Palme said, and the prerequisites for good relations between Sweden and the Soviet Union are that our territory is not violated. It is valuable,

he further said, that highly placed representatives of the Soviet Union insist that no violations have taken place.

Relations with the Soviet Union became a hot issue for Palme, even when he visited the high school students of Brogard School in Kristinehamn. Palme referred to U. S. experience in cooperating with the Russians, and his conclusion was that Sweden as well can rely on the experience that the Russians can be trusted to keep their word once they have given it.

In recent days Palme and the Swedish government have received much praise from Moscow. The explanation is the government's handling of the submarine crisis at Karlskrona. Palme himself does not want to draw any political conclusions from that goodwill from the USSR.

The pupils of Brogard School were more doubtful. After Palme's peace lecture, he was besieged by questions about disarmament, Soviet threats and submarines.

"There is a tendency on the Swedish and U. S. right-wing," Palme said, "to suspect all agreements with dictatorship nations. Their reasoning is that in order to achieve lasting peace the dictatorships must first be abolished."

"It is difficult to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union, but once an agreement has been obtained, we can rely on it being adhered to. This is experience we must use to build on, and it is dangerous to believe that agreements with dictatorships are meaningless," Palme said.

Keep Clean

A rapid exchange of opinions ensued with one of the pupils over the risk of Soviet attacks on Sweden.

"When did Russia last enter Sweden?" Palme asked.

"A few days ago," came the answer quick as lightning.

"We have no proof of that," Palme responded.

But he did admit that there are strong indications that some form of activity has occurred in the Karlskrona archipelago.

In commenting on his contest with the high school youths, Palme afterwards said that among young Conservatives there are persons who are very far out on the right of Swedish politics.

"The dividing line on Swedish security policy goes somewhere right through the middle of the Conservative Coalition Party." Palme was of the opinion that Adelsohn has a desire to stay as close to the main course of the security issues as possible. But he presumed that Adelsohn has major problems keeping his own party clean.

11949

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PALME, FALLDIN CARRY OUT NATIONWIDE DEBATE ON POLICIES

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 22 Feb 84 p 11

[Articles by Dick Ljungberg: "Palme Asks To Be Forgiven" and by Thorsten Engman: "Loyal Party Members Gave Their Applause"]

[Text] "Break away from the Conservatives and help us reduce unemployment." That challenge was issued by Olof Palme during Tuesday evening's debate with Thorbjorn Falldin. "We are in agreement that work for everybody is the most important political objective, but the methods we are using, such as wage-earner funds, are wrong," Falldin replied discouragingly.

In the debate that was televised from Orebro, the prime minister followed the pattern of the many debates between the Social Democrats and the Center Party on Monday evening. That is, he spoke enthusiastically of the former cooperation with the Farmers' Federation and wanted it to be revived.

But Falldin was unresponsive. The Social Democrats had broken too many promises, he said, and in summing up his position he provided a clear-cut answer.

"Looking forward to the 1985 election, we will be striving for a nonsocialist majority in the Riksdag," he said, "and then the wage-earner funds will be done away with no matter how the question of the structure of the government is settled."

After Olof Palme's introductory remarks in which he stated that most of the curves of the economic charts are now beginning to point in the right direction again after six wasted years of nonsocialist government, Falldin brought up the subject of unemployment, as he had been expected to do, stating that it has been higher every month of this year than it was during the corresponding month of last year.

"You have not been able to reduce unemployment despite the fact that you had the assistance of improving economic conditions," he said. "That is the result of becoming locked into an ideological position offering collectivist and centralized solutions and to the fact that you are under the thumb of the trade unions," the leader of the Center Party said.

Asked To Be Forgiven

As usual, Falldin was indignant over the fact that Palme earlier had accused him of deliberately increasing unemployment. "Unemployment continues to be a problem," Palme admitted, "but the employment figures are on the point of reversing their direction during 1984 after their collapse during the years of nonsocialist government."

Palme surprised those present by asking Falldin to excuse his use of the expression concerning "deliberately increasing unemployment."

"When the nonsocialist government reduced the grant to the National Labor Market Board, so that 40,000 people were unemployed, I called that the Falldin effect. Perhaps the Center Party was not aware of the reduction. I am willing to call it the Bohman or the Westerberg effect, and I sincerely beg pardon for what I said.

"It is a good thing that Falldin thinks the same as we do about employment," Palme said.

"And now I want to ask you whether you want to pursue a joint unemployment policy with the Conservatives or an employment policy in cooperation with us?" he said.

"There is no reason for either of us to dispute the fact that everybody should have a job. But the figures on unemployment show that you are using the wrong methods," Falldin said.

"Your contributions to the National Labor Market Board based on partisan concerns do not provide any permanent jobs. Why are you so afraid of industrial investment?

"The wage-earner funds inhibit the desire to work and the making of investments.

"Is Olof Palme aware of any kind of investment that has not been made during recent years but that would have actually been made if the funds had been accepted?" Falldin asked again and again.

Finally he got an answer, as follows.

Worst Collapse

"During the years of nonsocialist government, investments fell off by 40 percent --the worst collapse in our history. I am absolutely sure that this would never have happened if we had had the wage-earner funds," Palme said.

Falldin cited a number of examples of what he considered to be infringements of the freedom of individuals on the part of the trade unions. "And such things are going to become more frequent if the unions get power over the funds," he said

"This is the first time I have heard a member of the Center Party intoning the Conservatives' anti-trade-union litany," Palme said. He warned the Center Party against the Conservatives.

"There is no room for middle-of-the-road policy in their strategy," he said. "They must fight the workers' movement themselves. The Liberal Party must go and possibly the Center Party will remain as a reserve to fall back on."

"You Social Democrats are always concerned about the Conservatives, but sometimes you think that it is good to have them--for example, where reducing what is contributed to individual projects, foreign aid and food subsidies is concerned," Falldin said.

"It may be wise to tell the truth to both the political right and the political left. That is true in all situations," he went on to say.

Palme replies, "We cannot prevent the Conservatives from voting with us, but that does not mean that we want to sit in the same government with them. That is the difference."

Broken Promises

Falldin attacked the government because--in contrast with the entire opposition--it had not come forward with any suggestions regarding improving the situation of families with children.

"Where is the government's energy where that is concerned? Is it embodied in some Conservative who sits in the building housing the chancellery and applies the brakes?" he inquired.

"The fact that families with children are having a difficult time at present is owing to the fact that they are hit the hardest by the nonsocialists' policies," Palme said, "and one can't buy milk with the Center Party's broken promises regarding child support allowances."

Falldin accused the government of carrying out a campaign of agitation against Swedish agriculture. "Does it make sense to bring the planting of arable Swedish soil to a halt when the world is starving? Would it not be better to export Swedish food along with the foreign aid money?" he asked.

"I have worked a lot on food problems on the international level, and we cannot solve Sweden's food surplus problem by giving preference to the poor countries' needs over our own. That only disturbs their markets," Palme replied. "What is needed is proper prices and technical assistance in developing their food production."

Reporter Engman Tracking Party Faithfuls

I went to Club 700 in Orebro, which is devoted to dancing and where Prime Minister Olof Palme and Torbjorn Falldin, the leader of the Center Party, concluded the nationwide series to debates between the Center Party and the governing party that began on Monday. One might perhaps say that the 1985 election campaign got off to a start with the conclusion of the series of debates.

As usual, all seats in the well-known dance palace were filled. More than 1,000 intimates, including Palme's four-member retinue of security policemen, were crowded onto the highly-polished dance floor.

The crowd was divided scrupulously, with Social Democrats on the left and members of the Center Party on the right, and that was an arrangement that fitted in with the line Olof Palme took in his speech--to the effect that the members of the Center Party are lap dogs of the Conservatives and the right, whom he called his opponents in the debate and his people in the heat of the debate (or else with cold calculation). "Orebro Is the Right Place" appeared on a large sign behind the platform where the two debaters carried on their dispute, assisted by Goran Johansson (Center Party) and Staffan Kellerborg (Social Democratic Party), respectively. And if one judges by the number of people who turned out, Orebro certainly was the right place by comparison with other towns around the country. The figures show that 100 attended in Vasteras, 75 in Arvika, 29 in Grums and 14 in Saffle!

But in Orebro they had organized the affair in accordance with a plan. The two party districts had divided up the admission tickets equally, with 500 going to each of them--red ones to the Social Democrats and green ones to the Center Party. The tickets were distributed exclusively to loyal party members.

No ordinary buddies attended the debate. It could clearly be observed after every exchange of arguments that only "loyal" party members were present in the hall. Palme spoke and the left side of the dance floor applauded, and vice versa. But when Falldin talked about nuclear power and, above all, when he put forward his questions about wage-earner funds, expressions of applause could even be perceived coming from the left side.

But the loudest applause was heard when Anders Svard, the Center Party's Riksdag member from Kumla (who assisted his neighbor Svea Johansson in leading the debate) stated, in his introductory statement, that the bottles in front of the chief combatants came from the Hallsberg district, whereas, as everybody in Sweden knows who carries a gazetteer, Porla actually lies in the Laxa district.

Many of the youngest spectators left the hall when the introductory exchanges had been made in the debate. That may possibly have been owing to the fact that no specific information was given in the debate.

That took place in spite of the fact that, in their introductory statements, both leaders in the debate expressed a hope that the two parties would be able to get together and cooperate with each other constructively for the benefit of the entire country and then spoke particularly about the young people's difficult situation.

9266

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NONSOCIALISTS UNITE ON ECONOMIC POLICY FOR FIRST TIME IN YEARS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 22 Feb 84 p 11

[Article by Sven Svensson: "Nonsocialists Agree That Deficit Should Be Reduced"]

[Text] On Tuesday, 21 February 1984, the three nonsocialist parties carried out a joint political action in the Finance Committee of the Riksdag. They agreed that the deficit in the state budget for 1985 should be reduced by an additional 10 billion kronor by means of various kinds of economies.

In the government's budget, the deficit was indicated as amounting to slightly more than 80 billion kronor. However, 11 billion kronor of income are of a nonrecurrent nature. Therefore, over the longer term, the budget deficit was bigger than was indicated.

Now, for the first time in a number of years, the three nonsocialist parties have agreed on their view of the Swedish economy.

In their joint political action, the parties concerned consider that the improved economic situation calls for a more severe tightening up of the state's finances than the government would believe desirable. Such a tightening up is necessary now so that it will be possible to pursue a more expansive economic policy when the economic situation worsens again.

Therefore the nonsocialist parties maintain that the state budget for 1984/85 should be increased by approximately 10 billion kronor.

The opposition also asserts that the increase cannot be accomplished by further tax increases but must be accomplished by economizing. Tax increases no longer have the alleged effect on income.

The secretariat of the Finance Committee has gone through the bills proposed by the nonsocialists and many of the savings that are suggested are described as consisting of nothing but "thin air." But the parties are not in agreement in their calculations.

The joint nonsocialist protests have a common denominator, and that is the feeling that government grants to municipalities should be cut back.

However, when government grants are cut back the economy of the municipalities should be made more effective. That should be accomplished by providing them with more offers and more contracts. A certain amount of private competition should also exist in the economy of the municipalities.

Opposition to the Funds

In the committee's report, the nonsocialist parties also indicate their opposition to the wage-earner funds.

Where specific demands for economy are concerned, the three nonsocialist parties repeat their demand, which is presented in the form of a bill.

The Social Democratic majority in the Finance Committee supports the government's budget proposal. It is believed that a stabilization of the government's finances is being achieved and that the development of opposition to a constantly increasing budget deficit has been halted. Nevertheless, the need to pursue an austere budget policy with unaltered intensity still exists.

The budget deficit, measured as a fraction of the gross national product, must be reduced in each of the coming years, one after another. It is necessary that retrenchment in the Swedish economy be restored to a level that is consistent with the economic balance of society and sound economic growth, they say.

In order to accomplish that, a well-balanced policy in which measures intended to promote growth in the economy are combined with continued efforts to retrench is needed--and particularly efforts involving the cutting back of specific expenditures--and so are increases in certain taxes and improvements in the efficiency of public enterprises.

9266

CSO: 3650/126

FOREIGN MINISTER SPARKS DEBATE ON NEED FOR ATTACK COPTER

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 22 Feb 84 p 2

[Text] A commentator in the Defense journal stresses that the attack helicopter has replaced the tank as the blitzkrieg weapon par excellence. He asks whether Finland should not train an infantry unit for helicopter war and suggests that several attack helicopters be purchased so that we shall not be accused--as were the leaders in the 1930s--of having been blind to the demands of the time for a workable defense.

ABO UNDERRATTELSE and SUOMENMAA analyze the interview with Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen which HUFVUDSTADSBLADET published Sunday. In several newspapers in our country, the debate is continuing on the subject.

Do We Need Attack Helicopters?

In the latest issue of SOTILASAIKAKAUSLEHTI, Major Markku Iskanius, who serves at the Cadet School, describes the helicopter's increasing role on the battlefield as a weapon of attack and troop-landing operations. The newspaper writes that the article was exceptionally allowed as an anonymous commentary. Under the pen name "Res tanti est," the question was posed whether Finland should not prepare for a war in which helicopters play a major role. The nameless author notes that we have emphasized on the basis of military experience in the immediate past the importance of anti-tank weaponry and that we are well equipped for this. Today's trumpcard, however, is no longer the tank but the helicopter, the writer stresses, wondering if our troops have the capacity to defend against a concentrated helicopter attack. Theoretical training is being given, but what about the day when it comes to the real thing? The writer continues: "With our own tactics and the training of our army units in mind, a unit of company size should be trained that would be specialized in helicopter troop landings. And this should be done regardless of costs. This detachment would be on the yellow side in all major maneuvers, and the commander of the yellow side would decide about the landing on the basis of the situation. Such a troop unit, acting as the situation warranted, would force the leaders of both the yellow and the blue sides to concentrate closely on landings."

"We would not need to create a new unit necessarily, like in the Uttis, for example. Initially it would suffice if the Karelia brigade and the Kymmene fighting battalion were assigned to concentrate on helicopter landing tactics and on how they are conducted, and if departments and the air-transport wing were trained for such a mission. In order for the operation to be realistic, it would be necessary to purchase some attack helicopters. On the other hand, the need for attack helicopters on today's battlefields is generally obvious. The procurement of these copters would also ensure that our anti-tank defense satisfied today's requirement. Demonstrating the effect of firing from an attack helicopter at the army shooting ranges would certainly occasion a review of the need for camouflage, protection and anti-aircraft defense.

"By acquainting our troops with realistic troop landing from helicopters and by seeing attack helicopters, we could perhaps avert one of the main aims of helicopter use: we would not be psychologically defeated when we encountered such weapons on the battlefield.

"I hope that this article will spark debate on the need to train our own helicopter-transported troop unit (present equipment may be sufficient) and the desirability of procuring attack helicopters. There is little money, but are we using it the best way? The acquisition of a few attack helicopters would be the right solution for the armed forces. It is to be hoped that future generations will not find that we were blind to the clear signs of our time. We blame our brother officers of the late 1930s for such blindness."

9992

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GOVERNMENT DECIDES IN PRINCIPLE TO BUY DRAKENS FROM SWEDEN

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 22 Feb 84 p 7

[Article: "Finland To Buy About 20 Drakens From Sweden: Half Fleet to Satakunta Flight Detachment, Newer Equipment for Lapland"]

[Text] According to information received by HS [HELSINGIN SANOMAT], Finland is purchasing about 20 Swedish Draken fighters for the Air Force. Not all of the aircraft will go to the Satakunta flight detachment, however; they will be divided among the various bases.

In accordance with a proposal of the third parliamentary defense committee, the Satakunta flight detachment, which in August 1985 will move from Pori to Pirkkala, will receive a half-fleet for itself, which means about 12 planes.

The Lapland flight detachment is updating its equipment. Six old "Bertil" Drakens will be retired, and they will be replaced by newer, used aircraft.

The Karelia flight detachment will continue on with Russian MiG 21-bis aircraft. The future goal will thus be that Drakens will go up for surveillance from Rovaniemi and Pirkkala and MiGs from Kuopio.

Through internal transfers the Air Force will probably equalize its flight detachments so that each base will have about 20 planes. Then the ceiling set by the Paris peace treaty of 60 first-line fighters would not be broken.

The defense forces count MiGs and Drakens as so-called first-line fighters, except for two-seated aircraft. Hawks and the Fouga Magisters that will be removed from service are thus not counted in the number.

Swedes Do Not Dispute

Swedish officials have been more talkative than their Finnish counterparts about the sale of 20 Drakens. The SVENSKA DAGBLADET reported as sure knowledge already last August that Finland intended to buy 18 Drakens for the Air Force.

Obviously the Swedes added together the 12-plane half-fleet provided for in the budget and the Lapland flight detachment's six old Drakens scheduled for replacement.

The Swedish defense forces said on Tuesday that negotiations were still incomplete, although in their final stages. They would not consent to state the price of the aircraft, their number, or the negotiation schedule.

The Swedes did not dispute the number of 20 aircraft, but on the other hand they did not confirm it either. The Swedes offered as a price comparison the 1976 sale of Drakens, when 15 planes were sold for 68 million kronor, including spare parts.

Taking inflation into account, the price of one Draken can be roughly estimated at about 8 million kronor, and 20 aircraft would then cost approximately 160 million kronor.

Since there are 195 million markkas in this year's budget for purchase of aircraft, the picture falls into place.

Clearly the intention has been to purchase a half-fleet for the Satakunta flight division. The remainder would be transferred to next year, at which time the rest of the planes would be purchased, using the transferred funds.

Pihlajamaki's Visit to the Field

Purchase of twenty planes was first mentioned in public on Monday, when Defense Minister Veikko Pihlajamaki (Center Party) visited Tikkakoski. But the matter was reported incorrectly, because the 20-plane amount is not intended to be used exclusively at the Satakunta flight detachment.

News reports of the matter caused amazement in the Cabinet, which was meeting at the time, because the matter had not been decided beyond the Pirkkala half-fleet, or about 12 aircraft. The announcement thus came as a complete surprise.

After returning from his visit to the provinces, minister Pihlajamaki hurried to the Defense Ministry to formulate a statement in which he disputed the plans concerning Drakens.

"The basis of the purchases is the proposal of the third defense committee for obtaining a half-fleet of fighters for the Satakunta flight detachment. In this connection, no changes in earlier plans have been made, contrary to what has been published," said Pihlajamaki.

But the Defense Minister left a hole open for 20 Drakens.

"Negotiations with the Swedes are still in progress, and no details such as the number of aircraft, for example, have been decided. The matter will come before the Cabinet in time."

Enthusiastic Salesmen

The purchase of Drakens would be important to the Swedes from the point of view of weapons export. In this manner the western neighbor would further integrate

Finland into its own weapons system, which is advantageous with an eye toward the new JAS fighters and sales of them in the 1990's.

The Air Force will not give exact numbers on the strength of present equipment.

There are presently 12 DK-fighters, assembled in Finland, at Rovaniemi, and these are our newest equipment. In addition to these, 6 new J-35F Drakens are counted as first-line aircraft; these are the same kind as those to be obtained now. The airspace of Lapland is still patrolled by "Bertils," which will thus be updated.

The English source THE MILITARY BALANCE reveals that there are altogether 28 MiGs at Rissala near Kuopio, six of which are two-seated practice aircraft.

So the Satakunta flight detachment will receive a half-fleet of Drakens.

9611

CSO: 3617/107

NEW ARMED FORCES' CHIEF VALTANEN ON CONSCRIPT SHORTAGE

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 5 Feb 84 pp 14-16

[Article by Tuomas Keskinen: "Defense Forces' Commander Jaakko Valtanen Warns: Personnel Shortage Endangers General Military Service"]

[Text] Defense Forces' commander Jaakko Valtanen speaks readily of peace and disarmament, but says, "Peace must have a content. For a small country it is freedom and independence."

General Valtanen does not want to complain, but about the Army's personnel shortage he says very seriously, "It's really a question of whether we want to alter in some way military service so that everyone no longer undergoes training or so that all the reserves are not used." How is he to be answered?

The Army's Fokker accelerates into the thick sleet and rises toward Lappeenranta. It is Tuesday, 26 January 1984, morning.

The new commander of the Defense Forces, General Jaakko Valtanen, is continuing his comprehensive tour of familiarization from one military district to the next. The Fokker has brought the general and his party up to cruising altitude. Major Ilkka Hollo, the aide-de-camp, hands the general the morning's newspapers; one has to keep up with politics.

Jaakko Valtanen is a social general, a sociologist, who readily speaks of the dovetailing of the defense forces with the entire society. He understands the natural energy offered by the social currents of power.

The general, who reads SOSIALIDEMOKRAATTI, suggests that we speak on the return trip and at the General Staff on Monday.

The Fokker smoothly descends onto the Lappeenranta airfield, we have landed without a bounce. Snow has entrenched the old garrison city in a new shape that tragic battle site of the War of the Hats and the city from which in Gustav's war in 1789 the Russians left on their march toward bitter defeat at Porrassalmi.

General Valtanen is taken directly to city hall, which may be the country's most luxurious. City Mayor Jarmo Kolhi presents the plans promises 10 million for the transportation organization to help the garrison and requests a terrain hall and land for a multilevel addition.

Jaakko Valtanen sees the small local conflicts: Chymos and the garrison have referred to the unused morgue which is staying in place of the road.

The commander registers the circumstances, understands but promises nothing. Everyone understands.

The director of the officers' academy, Colonel Aimo Airola, points out that the city would like the terrain hall for Arto Bryggare, but the army would need a natatorium.

With Spirit and with Blood

The reason for the commander's trip is attendance at the commencement ceremony of the officers' academy course. Altogether 192 students have been promoted to sergeant major, and they have a staff officer's career in front of them. Before transferring to the central officers' staff they had a position as noncommissioned officer.

Of the students of that school 40 percent are high school graduates, and 20 percent have attended the RUK [Reserve Officers' School] and been promoted to second lieutenant.

There is a ready smile on boy after boy--if one can call a 23-year-old a boy--as they ascend the steps of the assembly hall with certificates in hand.

The commander's presence is an exceptional case, a rare mark of honor. Valtanen's speech is motivational, encouraging. Undoubtedly these staff officers will remember this day as the most ceremonious moment of their decades of hard work. They train tens of thousands of conscripts for an army that in Europe is proportionally largest in manpower but poorest in financial resources.

"I promise to obey and observe laws and statutes in force in the land.

"I also wish to defend the legal government of the land with my spirit and with my blood."

This is part of the sergeant major's oath.

It is almost two o'clock as we drive to the airfield and board the waiting Fokker and take off.

Jaakko Valtanen says he was surprised by the journalists' interest in the new commander. The opportunity for open communication was not enough; people want to ask more and more questions. He admits, however, that the publicity he has received has been positive.

Another thing that is difficult for him to get used to is the ceremoniousness which goes with the commander's job.

"I have to get accustomed to that ceremoniousness, too," the general concedes. The military world has its own rituals that are reformed slowly.

"Taking on the assignment of commander was not a leap into the unknown for me," begin General Jaakko Valtanen in his General Staff workroom, which one could describe as an attic room in all its sterility.

From the wall of the important room C.G.E. Mannerheim and Mauno Koivisto, the first and the present commander-in-chief, look on, side by side.

"There are no dramatics in becoming a soldier, the way there is in a religious awakening, in the sense that one surrenders oneself to something," General Valtanen continues.

His father was an officer and the example made an impression. So did the circumstances; the war Jaakko Valtanen had become involved in directly from secondary school. He decided to become a permanent officer in the summer of 1944, when "the winding down of the war had already begun."

Valtanen then served in the eastern Gulf of Finland, and just as he had left for his cadet course, a few days later German troops tried to take possession of Suursaari from the Finns. The Finns threw the Germans into the sea.

The general now remembers that the cadet period was full of difficulties. Half of the students discontinued their course, and the first years as an officer were not encouraging.

"Considering the external pressures, it would have been easy to give up a military career. Explanations wouldn't have been necessary. But I had the intestinal fortitude not to give in."

From among All the People

The general's career took off from there. From that difficult period Valtanen points out, now for him so typically, that the Defense Forces had at that time, too, a counterbalancing significance from society's viewpoint, because they represented the element outside of rabble-rousing and because the postwar breakthroughs did not influence them.

Likewise he brags about the current situation as well:

"In Finland the Defense Forces are integrated into the rest of the society perhaps better than anywhere else. It derives from the fact that we have long traditions of general military service, beginning from the military tenure establishment.

"Now--while surveying the occupations of the fathers--one can say that the officers come from among all the people," says the commander, convinced.

But if Finland's army is so egalitarian and dovetailed with society, is it also inefficient?

"Maybe there is inefficiency in comparison with a professional army, but it isn't due to universal conscription, but rather the short period of service."

And then he expands his point of view:

"The effectiveness of the armed forces is in direct proportion to the general efficiency of society.

"From where could this extra effectiveness make its way into the Defense Forces if it isn't otherwise to be found in the country?" he asks in order to reiterate that the answer is in the previous sentence.

The fact is, the military juntas, upon seizing power, have hardly raised their countries' effectiveness?

"They haven't, except perhaps in an illusory way. Discipline and order may be substantial, but it may not have that much greater an effect," says Finland's highest officer about the juntas' undertakings.

When the commander is asked about the level of the will to defend, he says he uses that phrase very little, because people have a tendency to misunderstand it easily.

"The will to defend is the result of the generally prevailing living conditions in a country. If the citizens experience that their society is worth living in and building, then the citizens are also motivated to defend it. If the will to defend is understood in this way, then it is very high here in Finland," the general testifies sociologically.

That will has been measured a lot in polls:

"...do you want to defend...are you prepared to..." Valtanen runs out of questions and at the same time answers:

"It is only the oral declarations of citizens upon being questioned. If it came down to a real test, they could be empty words.

"The circumstances in which the citizens find themselves redeeming their promises are entirely different from being asked an opinion, from being questioned about attitudes."

Valtanen understands that studies are made and that they are compared in that one possible way. He himself believes more in perceptions of the motivations of conscripts and reserves, and he only has good things to say about these.

How important is that desire then?

"Extremely important," the commander admits, although he continues on that will alone does not help if the material facilities are lacking.

Price of Peace

The desire for peace can perhaps also motivate one to defend. A sincere defender of peace--when betrayed--might be a passionate defender of his country?

"As a small country we can develop our society only under conditions of peace. Under conditions of war we cannot make any gains.

"But peace is not an absolute value in itself. Peace at any price is not possible.

"Peace is not an excess value. Peace must have a content. For a small country it is freedom and independence," stresses General Jaakko Valtanen.

He says he understands "quite well" the motives of pacifists. He learned about them as a young major in the radical 1960s while debating dozens of times with pacifists:

"I highly value their conviction and their opinions, even though I consider them too idealistic.

"We have to live our lives in the world as it is. We can't climb up into our utopias, as pleasant as that might be.

"However, I don't believe that pacifism as such is an influence that heightens or brings on a crisis; the doings of a small country have very little effect on great-power policy," judges Valtanen.

Does the general know what the fundamental reason for wars is?

"I don't. But I do not believe that the cause of wars is only in the evil of human beings. The circumstances of human beings and nations are very different. Often it is factors deriving from injustice that lead to an armed settling of accounts."

The general believes in the desire of nations for peace as such:

"There's hardly a single nation to be found which wants war, so great is the suffering which war brings."

On the other hand, he does not have very much belief in the great peace marches of our time nor in the desire for peace expressed, in practice, by proclamations:

"For centuries people have imagined that peace is preserved if everyone wants it. If that were the case, there wouldn't be any wars. But there has never been as much waging of war as after the Second World War, even though the experiences of the two great wars were known to mankind."

Valtanen says that from the viewpoint of a small country each step of progress which is achieved in the way of disarmament and arms control increases security.

But he does not believe in the effects of the good example set by Finland. For decades now we have had a very low defense obligation but it has not been followed anywhere.

Law Requires

We set our feet down on the workroom floor of the commander of the Defense Forces. We return to everyday reality, Monday, 30 January 1984.

Will the Defense Forces be able, in the appreciable future, to meet the tasks presented it with the appreciable resources?

"They are defined in the law. We have to keep a watch on our territory, prevent territorial violations and, if necessary, defend our country.

"We are able to keep a watch on our territory so that we cannot be surprised by war.

"With the help of our system we are able to increase preparedness and call up reserves for duty. We can thus demonstrate that we are prepared, if necessary, to initiate combat.

"Combat readiness means that we can win time. We can give the political leadership time.

"We cannot imagine that we are able to fight under any conditions whatsoever and for any length of time. It's a question of time in which the political leadership can make decisions, restore peace and preserve the country's independence.

"Just how long this time will be in different situations no one is able to give any kind of answer to. But I can say that with the current material resources this winning of time is short, shorter than what the other European industrialized states are able to achieve with their resources," says the general, bringing to an end his harsh judgment.

Is that time becoming shorter?

"It's difficult to say," Valtanen answers after thinking for a moment.

He speaks about the minimum/maximum assignment: with the smallest possible resources one has to obtain the greatest possible preventive capacity. And the new weapons systems are costing more and more. That is the way it is, even though Finland, according to Valtanen, is not acquiring offensive weapons and is not striving to run at the front of the military-technology race.

Now, however, the army has a lack of people, paid personnel. The recommendations of parliamentary committees have not been carried out.

"If a change doesn't take place, we will have to reappraise the internal operations of our system."

How?

"Perhaps we'll end up organizing the training of conscripts and reserves in a way different than now. For the conscript the nearest possible forces will not perhaps be the training place, but transportation questions will come up."

It is difficult to terminate the garrisons, Valtanen says, but a load should be taken off the organization in some way.

"The problem is that when we train a whole age class according to the military-service law, a large reserve for units in wartime comes into being. The peacetime cadre personnel as well as the troop divisions and garrisons are planned for the use of all the reserves."

General Jaakko Valtanen continues emphatically:

"Here it's really a question of whether we want to alter in some way general military service so that everyone no longer undergoes training or so that all the reserves are not used.

"What is the basis on which we should eliminate," Valtanen continues to ask. It remains a question.

"The most important factor in the defense potential of a small country is the reserve," Valtanen says.

The Defense Forces presented the need for training 80,000 reserves annually. A parliamentary committee lowered it to 60,000 and recommended an addition of 3,000 men yearly. In practice, funds have been granted in recent years for an addition of only 1,500 men. The reserve of land forces is divided into protective forces and general forces.

The plan is to outfit the protective forces, about 250,000 men, in the course of 15 years. Valtanen says:

"The protective forces will preserve, in proportional terms, their performance capacity, but the level of the general forces will decline irrevocably."

Does this mean a change in Finland's strategy?

"It's a change in the sense that all the reserves cannot be developed equally. If the defense's share of the national product were raised, for example, from 1.5 percent to nearer two percent, where it would still be beneath the European level, part of the development could be given to the general forces."

State of Nuclear War

General Jaakko Valtanen considers the conversation about cruise missiles finished, and he does not want to add anything new to it. One tries to follow the development and improve the air defense, taking into account all possible airborne devices that violate our airspace.

"Of course, we are concerned about nuclear weapons and the fact that they could be directed through our territory.

"What makes matters difficult is that it is hard to imagine what kind of defense could be organized under conditions of nuclear war," Jaakko Valtanen says.

Relying on the reports of parliamentary defense committees, Valtanen feels that Finland cannot plan its defense for nuclear war, which, on the other hand, is considered possible but not probable.

If a new committee is appointed, is it material that it reappraise that terrifying possibility?

"For the sake of its own self-respect each committee probably considers it essential to analyze this situation, but I don't believe that anything very new and radical will be found there," answer Valtanen.

Nails Slip

The Defense Forces are acquiring totally new weapons such as impulse mines. How important an addition is it?

"Quite an essential matter from the standpoint of our naval defense. We have bought a supply of them from the Soviet Union in order to keep up with developments. This is a natural sequel to Finland's procurement of defensive missiles at the start of the 1960s," says Valtanen.

Concerning the air force, the commander of the Defense Forces says that Finland has not yet reached the quantitative ceiling fixed by our agreements.

"We are getting more out of the new fighter planes than previously was the case. For reasons of expense the number of planes is being decreased in the air forces of all countries," says Valtanen.

Barely a year ago it was announced that defense against submarines was going to be made more effective. Is that plan in force?

"Nothing similar to the events in the Baltic Sea has happened here.

"We have an operative system in use which, it is true, is not perfect or complete, but which satisfies the minimum requirement.

"There's always room for improvement in the system," adds Valtanen.

A good question might well be: is the general staff satisfied with the sum of money?

"People say that the generals are never satisfied," General Jaakko Valtanen laughs quietly.

"I don't want to be one of those who only complain. For my own part I do my best to see to it that the money given to the Defense Forces is used in the best possible manner," he affirms. "My predecessors have done the same."

"A slightly higher" sum of money, however, would make his and the entire establishment's work easier; of this he makes no secret.

He would not even set out to compete on the Nordic level, but he needs a sum of money such that he is not required to fight all the time with his nails on the edge of the table and fear that they will slip.

General Jaakko Valtanen places his nails on the table and shows how they can slip.

It is his job.

On Tuesday the commander of the Defense Forces gave a lecture at the Paasikivi Society. His poker face lasted through the conversation afterwards, too, in the cross fire of the strangest questions.

It is his job.

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CSO: 3617/102

SCHLUTER SETS OUT ECONOMIC GOALS, DEFENDS POLICIES

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 7 Mar 84 pp 1, 24

[Article by Lisbeth Knudsen]

[Excerpts] Yesterday the prime minister discussed indications that an economic upswing is underway. He also rejected claims of political instability.

Prime Minister Poul Schluter put central bank director Erik Hoffmeyer and a number of economists in their place by stating that the government's financial policies did not require additional austerity measures.

After a cabinet meeting yesterday, the prime minister attempted to put an end to the "poisoned atmosphere" of the economic debate.

He stated that an economic upswing had begun in Denmark.

Prime Minister Poul Schluter stated yesterday after the cabinet meeting that the government's economic policies had "undeniably taken hold." The prime minister listed 12 points included in the government's economic policy. BERLINGSKE TIDENDE presents Poul Schluter's statement below:

In recent weeks the economic debate has taken place in a somewhat poisoned atmosphere. I would like to put an end to this because it is totally unjustified.

The government would like to announce that the recovery policy that has been conducted during the past 1.5 years has undeniably taken hold and will continue.

The economic trend in Denmark is especially positive. The upswing we have sought has now begun. The government intends to maintain this upward trend and conduct responsible, balanced policies in every respect.

1. Clear economic growth is underway in Western Europe as a whole. It follows from this that conditions for Danish exports are improving. The sharp drop in inflation and falling interest rates in Denmark make it easier for exporting companies to utilize these possibilities. Thus, the economic upswing now underway in Denmark is occurring on a solid foundation.

2. Danish exports in January were about 14 percent higher than the previous year. During the past [omission] industrial exports rose by no less than 26 percent. This increase is more rapid than the growth of international markets, which means that Danish companies are gaining a larger share of the market. This reflects greater competitive strength for Denmark.

3. Imports also have risen sharply because of the upswing in Denmark. During the past few months the increase has been no less than 35 percent. But this figure also includes a sharp rise in imported industrial machinery, raw materials, and materials to increase inventories in general. Of course, the beginning of an economic upswing means increased imports and there also has been an increase in ordinary consumer goods for some time. Of course, the government must follow this trend carefully to determine whether this increase is due to increased consumption or increased inventories of these goods. There are strong indications that the latter is true.

4. There are many indications that a sharp increase in industrial investments is underway. All indications are that investments in new production will accelerate rapidly throughout 1984. This is an expression of confidence on the part of industry that more goods can be produced and sold.

5. At present, it is impossible to say with reasonable accuracy what the overall balance of payments will be for the entire year of 1984. Higher investments in inventories and machines may result in a temporary rise in the deficit. We cannot reverse this trend without stifling the upswing, which the government does not want to do. On the other hand, it appears that consumption--except perhaps for automobile purchases--has stabilized after the moderate rise in mid-1983. Thus, there are no clear signs that the government's financial policies are too weak.

6. The February currency figures from the central bank indicate no increase in our balance of payments deficit.

7. Production and employment are clearly on the rise. The seasonally adjusted unemployment figures clearly show that unemployment began to drop in late 1983 and the prospect that this trend will continue is favorable.

8. Denmark's foreign exchange reserves have never been greater than they are now. There is no uncertainty over the Danish krone. The government will continue to maintain the value of the krone. There is no danger that Danish currency will be devaluated in the foreseeable future.

9. There has been an abundant supply of money for a long period of time now. Our liquidity is now on the decline, however, and there will hardly be any damage to the economy from an overabundant money supply.

10. Inflation is under extremely tight control. This applies to both prices and wages. The hourly wage index for industrial workers shows that wages rose only 3.6 percent from December 1982 to December 1983. This is the lowest rate of wage increases ever recorded in the history of the wage index. Prices of

consumer goods rose only 5.5 percent from January 1983 to January 1984. This rate, too, is a record low over a period of many year. State finances have clearly improved, even compared to the situation in December 1983 when the budget was voted down. The budget that was approved for 1984 shows a lower deficit, due to the economic upswing which has increased state revenues and decreased unemployment benefits and other subsidies.

11. The government will insist that the 1985 budget proposal not exceed 185 billion kroner, which means that in fixed prices state expenditures will remain unchanged.

12. The government will advocate a continued austere income policy. The government is convinced that there is deep understanding among the people as a whole and among the labor movement that a continued austere income policy is a sure way to improve economic conditions, increase employment levels, and maintain the level of prosperity in Denmark without devastating inflation. Of course, these problems cannot be solved now if high wage hikes are demanded.

Thus, there is every reason to believe that our recovery policies will continue to yield positive results. I would like to call on everyone in Danish industry and in the Danish economy to base their decisions on a continued upswing and on the assumption that the government will continue to create the necessary balance in our national economy, but with further growth and with the safeguarding of prosperity as our goal.

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CSO: 3613/103

JORGENSEN EXPLAINS OPPOSITION TO YOUTH EMPLOYMENT BILL

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 9 Feb 84 p 1

[Article by Dan Axel and Lisbeth Knudsen]

[Text] The government's youth employment package was presented in negotiations with the Social Democrats, the Radical Liberals, and the Progressive Party in an attempt to gain a majority in support of the budget.

The government is now investing almost 0.5 billion kroner to end unemployment among young people.

The government's new youth employment bill proposes that over 24,000 young people between the ages of 17 and 24 be sent to schools, training courses, and into the labor market this year.

Yesterday afternoon Education Minister Bertel Haarder (Liberal Party) made the package public, just after it had been presented to the Social Democrats in connection with the budget negotiations.

According to a new plan proposed by the government, contracts would be made for a 2-year trial period between unemployed young people and private employers. The unemployed young person would be offered a combined training and work program at a company for reasonable wages.

The government would pay about 40,000 kroner annually for each unemployed young person entering into such a contract with a private employer. It is estimated that 2,000 young people would avail themselves of this opportunity.

At the same time, the government will try to redistribute its allocations to create retraining opportunities, especially for young people in the older age group (20 to 24 years old) who already have undergone job training. The added expense, about 172 million kroner, would be saved automatically as a result of lower expenditures for retraining subsidies, job subsidies, and unemployment insurance payments.

Finally, the government wants to create 6,000 jobs for young people as domestic helpers by making their wages tax deductible.

A massive campaign also will be conducted to make people more involved in combatting unemployment among young people. The campaign will be under the leadership of Social Affairs Minister Palle Simonsen.

The youth employment bill was given a cool reception by the Social Democratic negotiators who met with the government yesterday. They did not reject the bill outright, however.

Following the meeting with the government, Social Democratic chairman Anker Jorgensen objected because the bill had not been discussed beforehand with labor and management. Anker Jorgensen also said that the government was using 450 million kroner to finance the package, while at the same time saving 350 million kroner through reductions in other unemployment programs.

Thus, according to Jorgensen, the government's 1984 budget allocates only about 290 million kroner for public jobs projects, compared to the original proposal of 530 million kroner.

The Radical Liberals supported the plan, which they had learned about beforehand, but the Progressive Party had no comment on the contents of the youth employment bill.

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SUCCESS IN INFLATION FIGHT DEPENDS ON GREATER INVESTMENT

Helsinki SUOMEN KUVALEHTI in Finnish 27 Jan 84 pp 58-59

[Commentary by Timo Loyttyniemi: "Iceland Is Not Only Fishing and Geysers, but Also a Land of Inflation"]

[Text] In its own isolation Iceland is struggling with its economic policy problems. The new government of the Progressive and Independence Parties took the helm on 27 May 1983 and with it got to govern an economy in which inflation is galloping at an annual rate of nearly 100 percent, the foreign debt is over 50 percent of the GNP, the government subsidy policy distorts allocations and in which to boot everything that has been distorted is backed by a negative interest rate. For openers, the government has announced a radical economic policy program whose short-term results are certain — inflation will stay within bounds for a half a year — but about whose long-term difficulties many people are apprehensive.

The tying of wages and prices to indexes protected all wage earners' share of the national income pie in Iceland throughout the 1970's, but at the same time it has been one of the essential factors in keeping the evolution of prices at a high level. During the past decade prices rose at an annual rate of over 30 percent and during the past 3 years the annual change in the price index was about 50 percent.

Interfering with the price merry-go-round was the new two-party government's most reckless gamble. Dependence on indexes was suspended by special decree for 2 years. The previous practice was to examine wages on the basis of changes in the price index at 3-month intervals, but, according to the new program, wages will be frozen until at least the end of January except for two small nominal hikes. In June an 8-percent general increase was granted and in October one half as large. Since workers' wages stopped being tied to indexes at the beginning of this year, it is anticipated that February will be a time of agitated labor strife because wage hike demands will have grown to ungovernable proportions by then.

The government is also keeping ever sharper watch over the evolution of consumer prices. It is, nevertheless, clear that real earnings have managed to drop 10 percent in a half a year's time. The government led by Prime Minister Steingrímur Hermannsson believes that the anticipated rate of inflation will

drop so much by February that no large wage hike demands will be presented and the government will thus achieve its goal of matching the inflation rate of the OECD countries by the end of 1984.

Prior experiments with similar kinds of price freezes have been more discouraging than encouraging. In the United States they were tried during President Nixon's administration, but after the price freeze inflation bounced back to two-digit figures. An anti-inflation policy apparently requires stronger monetary countermeasures.

When prices rise as sharply as they do in Iceland, erroneous monetary policy decisions have to be behind them. Iceland's central bank denies an excessive growth of the money supply in relation to the GNP. Common sense, however, occupies a more important position in the monetary policy than one might think. Interest rates have remained relatively low and money has been selling at downright bargain rates. The bank lending rate is tied to the price index and interest is concealed at such a low level that it has been easy for consumers to decide between saving and spending. The banks have tried to encourage saving by setting higher interest rates on time deposits and money has in part been transferred to time deposits, but the problem is still there. Savings have disappeared from the banks to go into consumer purchases and real capital investments. While borrowing from the banks has been tight because of loans already granted, the demand for credit is still acute.

The small volume of savings has created a problem in the funding of investments and former governments' expansionist budgets. A solution was found in the international money markets that followed the first oil crisis. The Arab countries' enormous profits were channeled to those who most sorely needed money — one destination was Iceland. During the past 2 years Iceland's foreign debt has been constantly increasing at an explosive rate. While in the mid-1970's long-term foreign loans accounted for 35 percent of the grand total for the GNP, this year the equivalent figure has risen to well over 50 percent.

They do not even seem to have found any way to put a stop to this development in the new government, since they predict that the percentage will rise during the next few years. Since 1980 the burden of foreign interest and amortization payments has risen to nearly twice the recorded percentage of export revenue. Increasing domestic savings is certainly one of the current government's goals so that it may better meet the need for funding investments, but the interest rate level is calculated to be working counter to these goals.

Statistics on the Icelandic economy show that the rate of inflation deviates sharply from those of the other OECD countries, but, on the other hand, in the handling of unemployment along with Sweden Iceland figures among the rare European countries with full employment. Throughout the entire post-World War II period unemployment rates have remained around zero. It is not assumed that there will be any deviation from this pattern, but it is interesting to note how full employment has been maintained in Iceland these past few years. The government subsidy policy includes providing every worker with a place to live and the opportunity to work in his own district. The government wants to

preserve enough workplaces, especially in small rural villages in every one of which there should be a trawler and a fish processing plant. Fishing boats are easy to procure — it is possible to obtain even a 100-percent loan. Behind this policy lies the government's desire to keep the country's capital, Reykjavik, from becoming a big city. At the same time fishing skills are passed on to the next generation.

The country's economic experts talk of huge erroneous investments. Limits on catches of the most important fishes, like herring, prevent the efficient use of trawlers, fish processing plants and manpower. Thus they claim that pruning the number of trawlers by a third — about 50 vessels — would not yet affect catch amounts at all. Similarly, they claim that there are more people working as farmers than necessary. They have been able to achieve self-sufficiency as concerns many products, but the percentage of farm workers is greater than necessary because of government subsidies. Similarly, machines and other capital goods are in part inefficiently used.

The government subsidy policy has smoothed out economic situation peaks and troughs, successfully reduced differences in income and prevented a migration from the countryside to Reykjavik. On the other hand, there has clearly been too much demand on the market. Unemployment figures have kept investment and consumer demand as well as the growth of the public sector economy small. Expenditures are paid for with a high foreign debt and an almost 100-percent galloping inflation rate.

Concern for a rapidly rising price index does not seem to bother Icelanders. Although the emphasis is on indirect taxation, income tax is paid on the basis of the previous year's income. Big-digit price changes do not seem to bother people since the wages of every wage earner group rise at a furious rate along with the price index — at least they did until last May — and a taxpayer's wage level normally manages to rise 50 percent in a year. Thus the income tax to be paid shapes up in terms of the proportion: The faster wages rise, the less the tax is.

In terms of the national economy the inflation rate is deceptive. Economic growth remains higher during inflation — low interest rates increase investments and consumer demand — so that interfering with the inflationary spiral through monetary policy measures would at least in the early stage produce a great deal of political opposition.

Raising interest rates would lower the overall demand and the good employment rate, a matter of pride for Iceland, would more and more become a growing problem as it is in England, the United States and elsewhere in Western Europe. The current government would only dare to interfere with the dependence on indexes, the direct costs of which in terms of every wage earner's real earnings are dramatic, but which keeps the short-term development of inflation under control

The anticipated rise in inflation and thus in labor union wage demands will have a big, but unpredictable effect on the outcome over long intervals. It is difficult to try to bet on the future level of inflation expectations,

but, since the inflation rate in Iceland has been galloping at the rate of somewhere near 100 percent, we might compare the lowering of expectations to fishing during the worst fishing season — you only catch fish if you know how to really fool them.

We can, or course, think that interfering with the dependence on price and wage indexes may be the most important and primary medicine against inflation. However, the doctor is reckless and inexperienced if he does not realize that you have to provide care after the treatment. A half a year of strong medicine with the aid of price freezes will get rid of the most dangerous spore cases, but it is always possible that it has had no effect on the most deep-seated causes. The government's policy cannot be tested in a matter of months, rather treatment of the economy demands time, medicine and political support.

Income is unusually evenly distributed among the different wage earner groups. This offers proof of the success of their social policy and wage earners' great negotiating strength. In the opinion of many, however, this conceals the reason for Iceland's economic problems. Its fishing economy may be compared with Finland's lumber industry about 20 years ago, when the importance of the lumber industry as a recipient of foreign economic incentives was greater than it now is.

In Iceland, when fishing industry revenues increase, profits also increase and are passed on to the owners of boats and processing plants as well as the workers. And so, when the demand for fish grows in the United States or Europe, catches increase or the exchange rate of the dollar continues to rise. During and economic upswing the evolution of fishing industry wages is often a basis for wage demands in other industries, even when a comparable increase in productivity in those industries has not occurred. Thus wage hikes are passed on to the different wage earner groups and increase pressures to raise market prices. Because of this an even distribution of income and its preservation are the biggest factors in inflation in Iceland.

At least since the 1960's they have been trying to distribute the fishing industry's share of export revenues to the other industries. An energy-intensive industry in which raw materials with the exception of energy would be imported from abroad was regarded as one productive area. Twenty years later the only important industry, after the fishing industry, is the processing of aluminum.

It is hard for Iceland to find new industrial branches — raw materials are hard to come by and further university training has to be sought abroad. The investigation of new fields will scarcely provide a solution to the economic concentration of Iceland. Nor does selling its knowledge of fishing industry skills to the world seem to be suitable either. Cynically we can say that it does not sound credible for Iceland with its inefficient fishing boats to export the teaching of efficient fishing to other countries.

EC PARLIAMENT PROPOSES NORTH SEA CLEANUP

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT in German 20 Jan 84 p 2

[Article: "Concern About Future of North Sea. Members of EC Parliament Want Treaty. Pollution Caused Primarily by Tankers"]

[Text] Strasbourg, 19 Jan (WWD) -- The members of the EC Parliament are greatly concerned about the increasing pollution of the North Sea and want to combat its causes with specific measures. According to a report by the environmental committee of the EC Parliament, the areas most affected are the coastal regions and estuaries. A report by the German press agency DPA said that 13 international treaties, 11 European directives and 17 national laws to date have been unable to effect any changes.

A way out of this confusion of regulations is seen by the EC Parliament in an EC treaty for protection of the North Sea, the basic outline of which was discussed by the EC Parliament at its January meeting. In this treaty, the existing international, national and EC legislation would be consolidated into a single, central agreement. The treaty would delineate the bounds of human activity in the North Sea and the responsibilities of those involved in fishing, shipping, drilling for crude oil and natural gas, mining undersea mineral resources, land reclamation, leisure time activities, and military air and sea maneuvers. However, very stringent rules for waste disposal will be made the highest priority.

Since even the most numerous rules and regulations are effective only when coupled with suitable penalties for breaking them, the members of the EC Parliament have in mind the creation of a central supervisory agency in conjunction with a "North Sea Treaty" to monitor compliance with EC legislation. This agency would issue permits for the disposal of substances in the North Sea, for example, and impose sanctions in cases involving infractions.

Accordingly, in cases where non-compliance with the treaty can be proven, ships committing the infraction would not only be held in North Sea harbors, but would also be forbidden access to these harbors for several years. The North Sea is one of the most heavily traveled seas in the world. About 420,000 ships cross the English Channel annually. Both major and minor shipping accidents do occur, and they contribute to the pollution of the North Sea.

Much greater damage is caused, however, by the willful disposal of wastes such as oil residues released with ballast water or when tankers are cleaned. Approximately 35 percent of the oil pollution of the North Sea can be attributed to shipping, and 72 percent of that figure involves indiscriminant dumping.

According to the EC Parliament, the countries bordering the North Sea should implement more stringent regulations regarding drilling for natural gas and crude oil when granting licenses to the oil and gas companies. According to estimates, about 5 million tons of oil and 4 trillion cubic meters of natural gas lie below the bed of the North Sea. However, these reserves are not unlimited. If no new discoveries are made, these reserves will be exhausted in 25 to 40 years. In addition to oil, however, other damage caused by the introduction of such substances as mercury, lead, cadmium, DDT and radioactive wastes should not be overlooked. According to the EC delegates, an environmental tax and storage fee should be introduced for these substances in order to ensure that they are collected at a central location and then destroyed.

Another problem is the excavation of sand, gravel and clay--particularly on the continental shelf of Britain the Netherlands--for the production of concrete, asphalt, bricks, etc. The danger of erosion exists in this area. The environment must also pay the price for land reclamation for industrial and residential developments. In the IJsselmeer region of the Netherlands, for example, 50 plant varieties, 6 types of fish and 6 kinds of butterfly disappeared. The refuge areas of birds and mammals in particular are disturbed by military maneuvers in restricted areas.

But not just military exercises cause damage to the environment. Tourists also contribute, for example in the fens area and on the dunes, where thousands of people seek relaxation in sailing, surfing, cycling and horseback riding, but at the same time disturb the habitat of nesting birds. The tourist's enjoyment of his vacation is affected in turn by oily residues on the beach. All of these interactions must be taken into account in a "North Sea Treaty."

The list of environmental factors goes on and on. According to the members of the EC Parliament, however, improvement of the situation must have as its main objective the maintaining of a balance between the ecological and economic importance of the North Sea. It is not only a nesting area and refuge for many sea birds and sea mammals, but also an important source of food and livelihood for many coastal residents.

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